NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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NEWS for League Members

Kalamazoo Citizen Action Praised

Kalamazoo, a city which has stood in the forefront of successful council-manager plan cities for 24 years, on February 7 received a certificate as one of the "All-American Cities of 1951."

The certificate was presented by Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids civic leader and regional vice president of the National Municipal League, who told an audience at Kalamazoo Central High School auditorium that their success had been an example and inspiration to her own city for many years.

Mrs. Judd, who served as a member of the jury that chose last year's All-American cities, said that, in view of Kalamazoo's long record of civic competence, "the success of citizen cooperation in your school building program may not seem extraordinary to you but it did to the jury and to the National Municipal League Conference that listened to the stories of many cities. It did seem important that your story be brought to the attention of the country to serve as an inspiration to other cities.

"It was an example of efficient organization and administration of a community job, of creative treatment of publicity and public relations and, most important of all, of dynamic citizen cooperation for the common good.

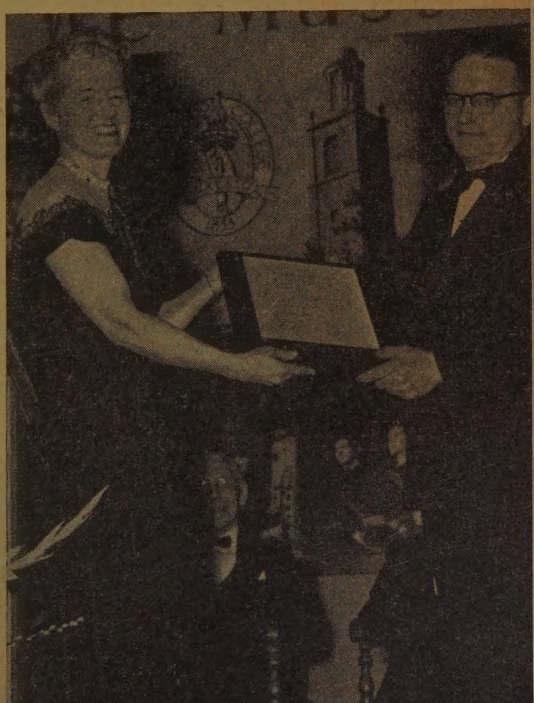
"Thus an award to Kalamazoo for this particular citizen project serves the objectives which inspired the young woman reporter on *The Minneapolis Tribune* who first suggested the idea of the All-American City award at the National Conference on Government in St. Paul in 1949. She argued that it would dramatize the National Municipal League's work and help spread the gospel of citizen action for better local government.

"The *Tribune* has continued to cooperate with the League in this recognition of the kind of citizen effort that is needed everywhere."

The award was received on behalf of the citizens by Dr. Glenn C. Bond, chairman of the Kalamazoo Citizens' Committee on Public Schools. Participating in the ceremony were Henry Ford, Jr., who was chairman of the committee during its campaign for school expansion a year ago and who presented the Kalamazoo story before the jury at the National Conference on Government in Cincinnati, and Mrs. Kenneth L. Crawford, president of the board of education.

—Photo by The Kalamazoo Gazet

Mrs. Siegel W. Judd — Dr. Glenn C. Bond



—*Leitzell Photo*

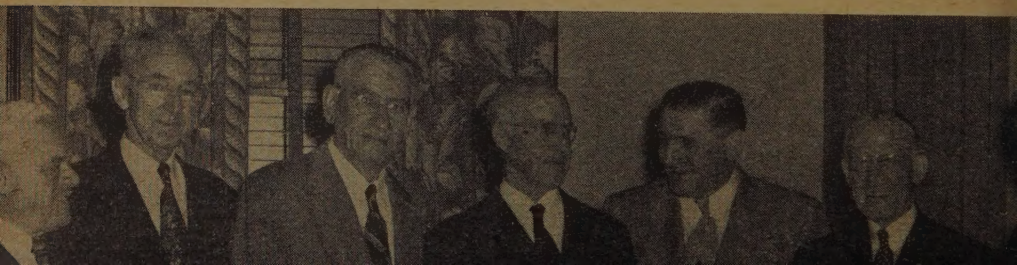
O. R. Buford (right), vacuum cleaner distributor, stepped up to receive the "All-American Cities" award on behalf of the citizens of Mount Vernon, Illinois, when it was presented January 21 by Richard S. Childs, chairman of the National Municipal League's executive committee.

This was altogether fitting and proper, since it was Mr. Buford who hit on the novel idea of using his paid advertising space in the newspapers to sell vacuum cleaners by telling about what was wrong with the city government rather than about his product. His approach and the mass of facts he presented in this way caught on so well that, when last year the Illinois legislature finally made it possible for cities to adopt the council-manager plan, Mr. Buford had no trouble getting 1,910 signatures instead of the 667 required for a special election. Mount

(Continued on page 175)

Richard S. Childs (center) with some of the 300 business and civic leaders who heard him speak in Springfield, Illinois, on "A Business Man Looks at Local Government." Left to right, Mayor John E. MacWherter; Representative Hugh Green; John W. Hobbs, past president, Springfield Manufacturers and Employers Association; Mr. Childs; R. J. Kerber, president of the association; V. Y. Dallman, editor, Illinois State Register; Byron Booth.

—*Photo by Illinois State Register*



National Municipal Review

Volume XLI, No. 3 **Total Number 419**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

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Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1952 by the National Municipal League.

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

Editorial Comment

The Home Town Is the Battle Ground

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was named as one of the eleven All-American Cities of 1951. James M. Osborn, member of the Council of the National Municipal League, presented the certificate of award February 4 at a meeting of Pawtucket's civic leaders. This guest editorial consists of extracts from Mr. Osborn's speech.

NO ONE could be here tonight without noticing the buoyancy in the atmosphere—a feeling of freedom and relief—of welcoming the future with confidence. Basically your problems are similar to those of many other cities all over America. Too often discouraged citizens view civic ills in their home town as something they are facing alone. They see inefficiency frozen in the city hall, with local government monopolized by patronage-fed political machines.

Indeed, local politics has earned a reputation almost synonymous with contamination. A recent poll showed that seven out of every ten parents hope their children will not go into politics. Many corporations and banks unofficially forbid their employees to participate in local political activities. The Red Cross and Community Chest enjoy top leadership but the attitude toward participating in municipal government is that people who play with dirt become covered with dirt.

How did American cities get into this situation? The primary cause is so simple that it may come as a shock until you think about it for a minute. We Americans have been following a false premise in local government. Although our cities are political subdivisions, technically speaking, economically and practically they are merely service agencies—citizen cooperatives if you will—to provide schools, streets, bridges, police and fire protection and other services for the public welfare. Think it over and you will see that most of our problems have arisen from the false reasoning that local elections should turn on whether we like or dislike the man in the White House—his attitude towards tariffs or China—the false belief that there is a Republican way to pave a street or a Democratic way to dig a sewer.

But don't the two national parties depend for strength upon the city hall boys—the local political machines? The answer is a flat and unequivocal "no." We have been sold that propaganda by local politicians who benefit from putting the cart before the horse. The proof lies in the little realized fact that in America today nonpartisan local elections have now become the predominant form. This is true in every population group.

It is no secret that communists sneer at democracy as an empty word. They point out that in many sections, including my home state of Connecticut, 2 per cent of the voters have a monopoly on the party machinery that controls nominations, so the voter's choice is limited to tweedledum or tweedledee. They see state political machines treating cities like conquered provinces. They see the buying of public officials by

gamblers and gangsters accepted as common subject matter on television and radio. They see the moral cancer of special privilege and "the fix" invading schoolboy sports — even West Point. Where they see these things they see the perversion of democracy; but it takes more than a political boss waving the American flag on July 4 to controvert them.

The answer to communism lies in making democracy *work*—work at the grass roots through nonpartisan local elections, with nonpartisan administration for the whole good of the community. Last November the assembly of Roman Catholic bishops issued this public warning of the moral decay that is gnawing at American government:

"In politics the principle that 'anything goes' simply because people are thought not to expect any high degree of honor in politicians is grossly wrong. We have to recover that sense of personal obligation on the part of the voter and that sense of public trust on the part of the elected officials which give meaning and dignity to political life. Those who are selected for office by their fellow men are entrusted with grave responsibilities. They have been selected not for self-enrichment but for conscientious public service. . . . One and the same standard covers stealing from the cash register and dishonest gain derived from public office."

But progress is being made. The hopeless frustration and cynicism with which most thinking people regard local politics can be cured if they will look outside their own backyards to see what other American cities are doing.

The All-American Cities award is an honor for Pawtucket. It is also a beacon light for other cities. You have won the citation not for the present state of your municipal affairs but on the basis of "energetic, purposeful, intelligent citizen action" to change the state of those affairs. You have repudiated previous misrule by overwhelming votes. You have, against great odds, organized the Citizens League, which played a major role in gaining home rule for all Rhode Island cities. You followed that promptly by electing a high grade charter commission to prepare a plan of government whereby the good citizens who predominate in your city as in any other can resume control of your day-to-day business of serving the public welfare. Your accomplishments are a thrilling example to your slumbering neighbors and a happy augury to your own future.

JAMES M. OSBORN

Crusaders Crash Through

Editor and vacuum cleaner distributor spark campaign that opens way for council-manager plan in Illinois.

By WILLIAM O. WINTER*

SOMETIMES when you have labored long in the political vineyard and have found the grapes with little juice, you think sardonically of Aristotle-a-la-Jowett: "Man is by nature a political animal." You think that either Aristotle or the translator was sadly in error, for the American, at least, shrugs off his political responsibilities as easily as his winter garments on the first warm day of spring.

The citizen reacts to a variety of things: to art, mechanics, religion; to money, power, fame and sex! And politics, some say, is the catholic reaction—it includes all of these. But do the data bear them out?

At first blush, discouragement seems valid. The indifference and apathy of countless thousands of American citizens, the "blind" voting of countless others, the cajolery necessary to get still others to register and then the tabulation of ballots in election after election which shows, typically, that less than half those registered take the trouble to journey to the polls—all this seems valid reason for thinking sardonically of Aristotle's observation.

Yet there are so many exceptional instances that you are forced to hold back on hasty conclusions. You are at the polls at 6 A.M. some morning and a man in overalls, or a business suit, talks of names and issues—intelligently, perceptively. Or you live in a state like Illinois, a state that has for years had on the statute books a law permitting only cities and villages of 5,000 population and under to have council-manager government. No other municipalities are entitled to have a manager, though a meager dozen have sought to raise themselves by their own boot straps and have adopted the plan by ordinance.

All at once there is a flurry of activity. A businessman campaigns for the manager plan, a publisher stumps the state, a political scientist and a famed constitutional lawyer draft a bill, a governor calls for its enactment and state senators and representatives work doggedly for its passage. In less than a year the bill is law and two cities, Mount Vernon and Peoria, have held special elections under it and approved council-manager government.

That such things happen is heartening. The way they happen is even more encouraging. The campaign in Illinois, for example, was a hard often thankless, job. That all the municipalities in the state except Chicago may now adopt council manager government is the result of articulate and courageous leadership by many citizens. This article is largely the story of two of those citizens—a businessman and a newspaper publisher.

*Mr. Winter, former research associate with the Bureau of Government at the University of Michigan, is assistant professor in the Department of Government at Southern Illinois University.

The businessman was O. R. Buford of Mount Vernon. A distributor for vacuum cleaners in southern Illinois and parts of adjacent states, Buford has had a successful business career. But Buford is not content simply with merchandizing his product and he has become a sort of unofficial watchdog of his community, its government and social responsibilities.

Vacuum Cleaners Our Only Business

Buford's forum is the local newspaper; more specifically, it is his weekly advertisement in the local paper. Always captioned, "Vacuum Cleaners Are Our Only Business," the text of the advertisement usually concerns itself only incidentally with the merits of his product. Rather, its concern is to give an iconoclastic review of local politics. Buford has attacked the inefficiency of Mount Vernon municipal government — its bad financial management, double parking, poor parking meter enforcement. He has called for better service from the privately owned water company and in 1949 he campaigned vigorously against a proposed increase in rates. (He lost that fight.)

He has called for the use of special assessments in the improvement of Mount Vernon streets. "Nor do I think it fair," he exclaimed in an advertisement of May 1950, "to take state gas tax money and put down paving, free of charge, when it should be assessed to the property owners." Several times he has chastised the people of Mount Vernon for not meeting their quota for the Red Cross blood bank. And he has called upon other businessmen to assume his role of community prodder.

For his attacks upon the city government Buford has had ample material. The city has been facing recurring deficits for years. The "Ten Years Ago Today" column of the Mount Vernon *Register-Times* of January 26, 1950, contained this item: "Five members of the Mount Vernon police department and five members of their fire department have filed suit against the city for back pay." The amount involved was approximately ten thousand dollars. That was of course in 1940.

In April 1949 a suit for $56,000 in unpaid bills was brought against the city by a concrete company and the local water company. In July 1950 an engineering company sued the city for unpaid professional services of $11,568. City employees often went months without pay. Finally, in desperation, the city council adopted an ordinance to permit the issuance of $90,000 in funding bonds to pay the city's debts. More than a third represented back pay due employees.

Against this situation Buford constantly inveighed. He criticized the administration for bad management, for nepotism, for unfortunate purchasing practices. And he proposed a solution to the city's ills. The city is spending more than its income, he editorialized in his weekly advertisements. The remedy? "Mount Vernon needs an income and a city manager to keep it within its income." A manager would in a short time, he added, "solve most of our 'Mount Vernon broke' and 'Mount Vernon sued' problems."

"A prophet is not without honor, save in his own . . . house," and Buford's house, for business pur-

poses, is municipal property. In order to eke out its income the city has for several years rented the entire second floor of the city hall for office space. Buford has some of this space. In addition there is a church office, a beauty parlor and the office of an oil well drilling company. Suddenly, one evening in the summer of 1950, the city council decided to cancel Buford's lease.

But he had an editorial ready for that one: "Now just why did they vote to cancel my lease? Surely they don't want to shut me up. Am I doing business in America or behind the iron curtain? . . . Well, they vote to cancel my lease, but some day Mount Vernon will have a city manager." The council retreated and Buford is still in the city hall.

Some people expressed disagreement in other ways. While Buford was attending council meeting one evening, someone put sugar in the gas tank of his car. And a citizen wrote in July 1951 to the local newspaper: "There is no doubt that mudslinging may sell vacuum cleaners but constructive criticism does more good." Mudslinging Buford's charges may have been, but there is every indication that he has always had a healthy respect for facts and has never made his charges frivolously. Nor does he retreat before his opposition; on the contrary, he makes editorials out of it.

Buford began his campaign for council-manager government several years before a city of the class of Mount Vernon could adopt the plan —unless it did so by ordinance, by no means a satisfactory method. Just before Christmas 1948 and not many weeks before the local elections —and as always under the caption, "Vacuum Cleaners Are Our Only Business" — Buford commented: "When I am mayor I want the city of Mount Vernon to own and operate all utilities with the exception of the telephone and to pay a city manager at least $10,000 a year to run the business." Although not his first mention of the council-manager plan, this marked the beginning of a gradually quickening manager campaign.

Buford did not run for mayor. He disclaims all ambition to hold public office, either that of mayor or of manager. He has been accused of wanting both but he insists he is too busy selling vacuum cleaners.

Presents the Evidence

An important element in Buford's long campaign was to present the evidence, to let the record speak for itself. He cited Hannibal, Missouri, with its own water and light plant, and a manager with a salary of $7,200 — good government, he told the people of Mount Vernon, and in a city the size of ours. Then he corresponded with citizens and officials in Mexico, Missouri; Dayton, Ohio; Kenosha, Wisconsin; and other cities to get facts about the operation of the manager plan. These he printed in his advertisements.

Much of this activity took place before January 1951. After that Buford intensified his pace. Before, he had been calling for something nebulous, far away, and his critics had said to him in effect, "Don't you know it is impossible under state law for us to have council-manager

government?" And he had answered, "Of course, I do. I also know that you can change things." When the governor called for an optional council-manager law and the legislation was introduced in the House of Representatives, the change seemed near at hand. The target was no longer over the horizon; it was in plain sight.

Manager Bill Introduced

House Bill 213 was introduced on February 28, 1951. Immediately Buford grabbed his pen: "There is nothing wrong with Mount Vernon which cannot be remedied when it is given the legal right to run its business like any other business, which is successful, must be run. To do this, of course, means a city manager."

The following week he again praised council-manager government and then the week after he had this to say: "Think! When you think you will be busy. When you are busy you will accomplish much. Right now, as you read this, if you will think with me about the city manager plan of government for Mount Vernon, much good can come from it."

During succeeding weeks he urged that Mount Vernon citizens write their senators and representatives about H. B. 213. In April he urged each citizen to mail four postal cards, one for the state senator and three for the representatives from the Mount Vernon district. He reminded them that their city was taking in less than it was spending and suggested the remedy—the manager plan. In May, he noted the success of the plan in specific cities.

In June he wrote, "If I were a young man thinking of entering or now in college, I would give serious thought to a preparatory course in city management." And then he added, "I sincerely hope in the next few days that our State Senate will pass the city manager bill." It did and the bill went to the governor, who signed it. Immediately, Buford announced he was preparing petitions for a special election on adopting the optional law.

Not content with information he had gotten from cities by letter, Buford wrote the National Municipal League for help. In addition, he went on a 1700-mile trip through Wisconsin, and Michigan, visiting manager cities and talking with managers and other officials, getting a first-hand picture of the operation of the manager plan.

Returning, Buford began circulating his petitions. Although only 700 signatures were needed, he got almost 2,000. The county judge, as the law required, called the election for October 2.

Buford's campaign for adoption of the council-manager plan in Mount Vernon was similar to the one he had waged so long for a statewide enabling act: advertisements, public meetings and personal contacts. While the campaign was not entirely as the Mount Vernon *Register-News* described, a one-man affair, certainly Buford personally, or through his office, carried the burden of the effort.

The effort was successful. The council-manager law was adopted by a majority of almost six to one. Mount Vernon had become the first

city in Illinois to adopt the new law —and only three months after the governor had signed it!

The efforts of O. R. Buford in behalf of the manager plan for his state and city were the most colorful of the crusade to get permissive council-manager legislation for Illinois. But he was by no means alone. Another major contributor was William B. Hamel, publisher of the Mattoon *Daily Journal-Gazette.*

A Publisher Campaigns

Like Buford, Hamel was interested in the plan before the convening of the 1951 General Assembly. He made his first speech espousing it in July 1950 and followed with more in the late summer and autumn. The legislature convened on January 3, 1951, and, learning that council-manager legislation would be introduced—the governor called for it in his opening address—Hamel cancelled his plans for a winter vacation. In all he made 38 speeches.

Hamel talked before civic clubs, service organizations, women's clubs —the invitations were many and the organizations varied. Buford arranged a joint meeting of important civic and service clubs of Mount Vernon which Hamel addressed.

But speeches were only part of Hamel's personal campaign. He wrote editorials for his own paper calling for passage of the proposed legislation and he mailed three full-column editorials to 85 daily newspapers and 600 weeklies and semi-weeklies. He telephoned, wired and wrote publishers and community leaders all over the state in an effort to enlist their support. And he journeyed to Springfield to testify before a legislative committee for H. B. 213.

This was entirely a personal effort. Hamel had no organizational support and his expenses were borne by his newspaper. His campaign, however, attracted wide attention: in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, in publications of the Union League Club of Chicago and the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, and in various trade journals and newspapers. There can be no doubt of his great contribution to the molding of public opinion behind better government.

All his expenditure of time, effort and money was of course without tangible compensation but he does not hesitate to say he would do it again. "Of course, it took . . . many days or parts of days out of my office," he wrote me, "which meant I had to make it up in writing my column and handling my mail nights in my study at home." Such intangible costs receive only intangible rewards.

The efforts of Buford and Hamel were a spectacular culmination of a movement that began long ago. In 1936 the Union League Club of Chicago called a meeting of businessmen to hear Murray Seasongood and the late Henry Bentley describe council-manager government in Cincinnati. This meeting resulted in the formation of the Chicago City Manager Committee, which drafted council-manager enabling legislation and succeeded in getting it introduced in various sessions of the General Assembly. Although the committee sought widespread support in its endeavor, and at one time had the endorsement of some two hundred

organizations, the legislature was unsympathetic. In baseball parlance, the bill never got to first base.

A Long History

But the committee continued its endeavors. Working with other groups, such as the Union League Club, Illinois League of Women Voters, State Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce, the committee sought legislative action. Further, the Illinois Council Manager Conference was organized to seek coordination of statewide support. This conference, according to Edward M. Martin, secretary of the Public Affairs Committee of the Union League Club, "functioned as a clearing house of information, speakers, literature and as the sponsor of bills submitted to successive sessions of the General Assembly."

Despite the important role of Chicago citizens, participants in the movement finally decided that Chicago must be left out of the permissive legislation if it was ever to be passed by the legislature. Other compromises were incorporated. The two persons instrumental in preparing the various bills, including H. B. 213 itself, were Mr. Martin and Walter F. Dodd, attorney and widely known authority on government.

One important reason for success was that council-manager government had already made its appearance in Illinois. Previous to Mount Vernon's adoption of the new law, there were thirteen cities and villages with council-manager government. Glencoe adopted the plan by ordinance in 1914 and Winnetka adopted it by the same method in 1915; the others have adopted since, most of them by ordinance. Two adopted the enabling act for municipalities of 5,000 or less which H. B. 213 replaced.

Representative Bernice Van Der Vries of Winnetka sponsored H. B. 213 and City Manager C. Harold Eash of Brookfield testified for the bill before legislative committees. Such interest and support by people closely connected with council-manager government, plus the good record of the plan in spite of the legal legerdemain necessary for its existence under ordinance, contributed to the passage of the bill.

And finally, the action of Governor Adlai Stevenson, in calling for the legislation in his opening message to the legislature and in courageously supporting the measure in its passage through the legislative process, was a *sine qua non.*

At best this is but a sketch of the long struggle to get council-manager government for the cities and villages of Illinois. A courageous businessman and a crusading publisher, an enlightened governor, a political scientist, a lawyer, state representatives, a city manager, representatives of many organizations—all of these and many more contributed.

Now the scene shifts to the dozens of municipalities throughout the state that have the opportunity to make a clear-cut decision like the one already made by Mount Vernon—the choice between a bumbling commission or weak mayor system and effective local government under the council-manager plan.

'The Voice of the People'

National opinion polls with electronic machines seen as means of recapturing some values of old town meeting.

By GEORGE D. BRADEN*

THE time has come to improve our governmental machinery by using some of the scientific and engineering devices now so common in the business world. The American people are proud of their democratic system of government, but they are aware of the fact that in many ways it creaks along as if we still lived in the stage-coach era. The American people are also proud of the achievements of a business world that welcomes every new invention, every new idea designed to increase efficiency. Let us combine these two great American achievements by modernizing our democratic machinery through the use of the latest scientific developments.

We are still in the "horse-and-buggy" era so far as the distant relationship between the people and the government at Washington is concerned. Many state and local governments have long since given the voter a direct voice in determining policies by providing for referenda on important questions. But on the national level it has not been possible heretofore, chiefly because of mechanical difficulties, to create that close feeling between the citizen and his government that is so essential to a vital democracy. Here is a place where modern science, by providing feasible machinery for national referenda, can be instrumental in bringing the people and their government closer together.

The scientific development available for this purpose is an electronic voting machine. This may sound like something out of science fiction, but if one stops to think of the "lightning" electronic calculators that have been making the news lately and of the common IBM and other tabulating machines, it can be seen that an electronic voting machine is simply a combination of well known devices. As a matter of fact, the machine shortly to be described was originally developed in a simpler and non-electronic form about twenty years ago at the request of Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania. In many respects this new machine looks like an ordinary voting machine except that it has buttons to push instead of levers to pull. But there are several unique features about the electronic machine that make it much more efficient than the machines used today and also offer possibilities for uses not practicable today.

First, there is the "token" part of the machine. Every voter upon registration would receive a token, large enough to contain his photograph and signature. This token, containing a series of notches, would entitle him

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to vote. When voting he would insert his token in the voting machine in order to make the machine operate. The significant thing about the token is that the electronic circuits in a central office would be so arranged that no voting machine would accept a vote from a token that had already been used on that day.

This means that a person would not need to vote in a home precinct, for the central office circuits would prevent repeater voting. In fact, absentee voting could be so arranged that a voter from New York who was in Chicago could insert his token in a Chicago machine and vote for New York candidates. His vote would be transferred electrically to the appropriate central recording office in New York. Furthermore, tokens could be issued to non-voters, notched in such a way that the voting machines would not accept the token for voting purposes. Thus, the tokens, which would contain signature and photograph, could serve as identification on all sorts of occasions and the machines could be used for various census purposes.

A Lightning Calculator

A second new feature about the electronics voting machine is its instantaneous calculation. At the same time that a machine made a permanent record of a vote, the same information would be electronically recorded at a central office. Hence, cumulative totals for wide areas would be available literally within seconds after the closing of polls. And the count would be accurate. Our present difficulties with the human errors of counting votes, especially paper ballots, would be eliminated.

Third, the use of the token and the provision for a central records office would greatly simplify the machinery of voting. Machines could be permanently installed at the most convenient and efficient locations. There need be no precincts for voting purposes. A man's residence would appear in the series of notches and the tabulating process would locate the vote in the right geographical area. Aside from skilled repairmen and the skilled workmen running the central records, the only election officials required would be people to compare face and signature with photograph and signature. With the electronic voting machine, voting can be made as easy as stopping in for a cup of coffee.[1]

Here, then, is a practicable modern voting machine, only slightly more expensive than voting machines now in use, that in every way would make the electoral process more efficient. In addition, these machines would permit periodic official referenda. By use of tokens and through permanent location of machines, the whole process of voting is simplified and this means that the election machinery can be put into operation on short notice. City, county, state

[1] I recognize the difficulties in sparsely populated areas, but I doubt that the difficulties are any greater than under the present system. I can also visualize the use of a mobile machine in a trailer, traveling across the countryside, a mobile telephone sending the votes in to the central office. In short, I would argue that any difficulties about voting are more easily solved by use of modern scientific devices than by use of traditional methods.

or national government could call for an expression of opinion from the electorate whenever there was a need to know what the public thought. Thus, the electronic voting machine not only offers efficient voting, it offers accurate public opinion polls. On all levels of government this new voting machine makes it possible to inject more real democracy into the processes of government.

One of the most serious criticisms leveled at the federal government today is that the government, particularly Congress, is not truly representative, especially in the sense that it is not responsive to the wishes of the American people. (This is said with due regard to the element of sectional interest represented by the make-up of the Senate and, to a certain extent, of the House of Representatives.) If national opinion referenda would increase the public's participation in government and increase the government's responsiveness to that participation, the possibility is well worth exploring.

An Advisory Referendum

On the other hand, the national electoral system is a delicate mechanism not lightly to be tampered with. The primary task is to fashion a national referendum that would be supplemental to the ordinary legislative process, that would not in and of itself be a part of the legislative process. The proposal which follows is simply a national advisory referendum, an accurate public opinion poll, that would have no binding effect and that would precede, not follow, legislation. It would do no more than advise the president and Congress what people thought about a current vital issue.

There follows a blueprint for national referenda which by necessity is a sketchy outline containing only the bare essentials. In making this blueprint, four considerations have been borne in mind:

First, the decision to have a referendum, with means of avoiding too many. A statute providing for national referenda ought to provide that no more than five or six could be called in any one year. Who calls it? Obviously Congress should have the power by joint resolution. On the other hand, the president, as the national political figure, ought to have power to call one or two within the limits of five or six. Provision should also be made for calling a referendum by a substantial minority of Congress. For purposes of safeguards it would be advisable to provide that no more than two topics could be considered at one time, and that referenda could not be bunched too close together.

Second, intelligent choices for the voter. This is not easy, as any pollster will tell you. It would seem advisable not to give either Congress or the president the power to word referendum questions, though some power of veto should be retained by them. One good method would be to have a panel of "experts" — that hated word — whose sole job would be to draft questions. Veteran newspapermen would be ideal, for they are good at succinct statements of difficult problems. It is important to note that the referendum questions are not designed to be simple yes or no propositions. There should be a

range of several shades of opinion so that the tabulation of votes would reflect, as well as it can be done statistically, the general sentiment of the public.

Third, voter intelligence. Between the time that a decision is made to have a referendum and the day of voting there should be a time interval devoted to debate and discussion. The federal government could very well sponsor a series of national town meetings, so to speak, utilizing the great potentialities of radio and television. Governmental sponsorship is not indispensable, of course, but if there were an imaginative independent governmental commission charged with seeing that the public was appropriately enlightened, it seems more likely that the public would participate. Following such a national debate, a week might well elapse during which voters would be encouraged to discuss matters among themselves and private groups could air their views. Private debate could continue by radio and television, subject only to prevention of abuse.

Fourth, the legislative process at work after a referendum. Note again that the referendum would in and of itself have no legal effect. After a referendum was held, it would be known what voters thought, by congressional districts, by states and throughout the nation as a whole. Any member of Congress could vote in any way he wanted to. The only difference would be that he would know what his constituency really thought—he would not have to try to figure it out from public opinion polls, lobbyists, letters written to him and so forth. It is especially important here to note that even though each legislator knew the temper of his own constituency, the resulting legislation would undoubtedly be a compromise of views. Just as the legislative process today is a compromise process, so it would be then. The only difference is that it would be more likely to represent an accurate compromise of the views of the country as a whole.

What are the merits of this proposal?

First, it would increase both interest and participation in government. Instead of interest being limited to biennial elections, people would have an active interest periodically during every year. Instead of participation being limited to a vote for one representative and one senator, more or less every two years, people would have opportunities from time to time to participate in government by officially advising their government what they really thought. In all likelihood, the dramatization of a public issue by a national referendum would provide a great stimulus to the growth of community and neighborhood discussion groups and thus extend participation in public affairs generally.

'Will of the People'

Second, it would clarify the relationship between personalities and issues. Several years ago George Gallup pointed out[2] that, "some of the gravest errors have come about through the attempt to read into the election returns of candidates the will of the people on issues." He therefore

[2]See "They Want to Be Good Citizens," by George Gallup, the REVIEW, January 1947, page 26.

proposed that in every national election "voters be permitted to record their views on important issues in the form of an advisory referendum." Without the electronic voting machine, such a referendum would, of course, be feasible only on the regular election day. But with the voting machine the referendum can be called for when the issue is "hot," and when voters can concentrate on the issue without being distracted by the general election campaign.

Third, it would enable the voter when it came time to vote on reelecting a legislator to judge better how well he had been represented. There is a lot of funny business that goes on in Congress, and a voter has a pretty hard time keeping track of what his representatives do. Even under this proposal, funny business would still go on but it would be more difficult for a representative to explain why he voted thus and so in view of the fact that the sentiment of his district as recorded in the national referendum was otherwise.

Better Than Lobbies

Fourth, national referenda would have an important effect on lobbies. Lobbies serve the electorate today by providing the in-between-election voice of the voter. At present, though, it is difficult to know whether a lobby accurately represents its own strength on a particular issue. On a soldier's bonus question, for example, a veterans' organization may say it speaks for all veterans and a taxpayers' organization may purport to speak for all taxpayers. Yet all veterans are taxpayers. And if the two lobbies get on opposite sides of a question, the lobby method of representation falls down. (There are many other aspects of the lobbies which make them unsatisfactory substitutes for true representation, but this is not the place to spell them out.)

Now note what happens with a national referendum. The lobby would have to convince its constituents, and its power would be roughly equivalent to the success it had in convincing its own constituency. Take the bonus. If the veterans' organizations asked veterans to vote for a bonus in a referendum and the vote was strongly against a bonus, it would be difficult to threaten congressmen with defeat if they voted against a bonus. On the other hand, a special interest group has an important legitimate function: to tell the members of its group where their interests lie. With national referenda this function would increase in importance, and at the expense of the misleading and undemocratic service these same special interest groups frequently perform under prevailing conditions.

Finally, national referenda would free us from complete dependence on the private public opinion poll. By virtue of the sampling technique, leaving aside certain difficulties over a recent national election, the polls can never be completely satisfactory. Furthermore, many people have "no opinion," and there is no way to be sure that these "no opinion" people are non-voters. A national referendum under the circumstances here outlined would eliminate the doubt and would in all likelihood eliminate most of the "no opinion" people. This would especially be the case if there were a "national town meeting" pre-

ceding the vote, for the "no opinion" man would probably form an opinion after the national debate.

This is a large country with great diversity of interests. To accommodate this diversity we have created a cumbersome governmental mechanism that tends to lumber along in an unsatisfactory manner. The beauty of the national referendum by electronic voting machines[3] is that the people as a whole can come together and express themselves. At one and the same time the sentiment of the country, as a nation, by sections, by states, by communities, is known. Those who act for us, Congress and the president, would on important occasions have an accurate insight into the temper of the American people. Over a period of time, as the referendum with its accompanying national debate became an accepted institution, we would develop an informed and articulate public. We would always require a representative system, for the nation is too large for direct action, but our representatives would know what they really represented.

This proposal is not revolutionary, it is not un-American. If anything, it is a use of modern science to create on a national scale one of the most ancient American political devices—the New England town meeting. Politicians and statesmen for generations have talked about the "voice of the people." The time has come to stop just talking about the "voice of the people," for now the people can really speak.

[3]I have heard that a plan of referendum by mail has been worked out. Although I have been unable to figure out how it could be safeguarded against fraud, I do not doubt that it could be done. I do doubt, however, that it would be as satisfactory as the electronic voting machine. For one thing it would be cumbersome and require a great deal of work in preparing, mailing, receiving, sorting and tabulating replies. For another thing, it would be hard to maintain the community spirit that accompanies voting. In government we are dealing with group action. The sense of the group ought to be preserved, and it would probably be lost if the postal service was the medium for voting.

Initiative Held in Reserve

Although its use in Ohio has diminished it has proved value, enabling aroused public to override legislature.

By ARTHUR A. SCHWARTZ*

THE concept of direct participation by the electorate in the evolution of a state constitution, as well as in the legislative process, is reflected in the experiences of Ohio, which has served as a laboratory for 38 years.

The Ohio constitution provides for its amendment by direct initiative. Signatures to petitions must equal 10 per cent of the total vote cast for governor at the last preceding election; signatures in each of at least half the counties to include not less than 5 per cent of the county vote for governor. Such petitions must be filed in the office of the secretary of state at least 90 days prior to a regular or general election.

Petitions may also be filed with the secretary of state seeking passage of a legislative act. Such petitions must be filed not less than ten days prior to the convening of the legislature and contain signatures equal to at least 3 per cent of the total vote for governor at the last preceding general election; those in each of at least half the counties to include not less than one half of one per cent of the county vote for governor. The secretary of state transmits the petition to the General Assembly for action. If it fails to act favorably on the proposed law, the filing of a supplemental petition signed by an additional 3 per cent of the electors will place the issue on the ballot.

All laws passed by the General Assembly, except those providing for tax levies, appropriations for current expenses of the state government and those declared to be emergency measures, take effect 90 days after being filed in the office of the secretary of state. If, during this period, a referendum petition bearing valid signatures equal to at least 6 per cent of the total vote for governor at the last preceding general election (those in each of at least half the counties to include not less than 3 per cent of the county vote for governor) is filed with the secretary of state, the proposed law must be submitted to the electors at the next general election.

The constitution provides that emergency acts, passed by a two-thirds vote of each house, shall not be subject to a referendum. The question of the conclusiveness of the legislative determination of an act as an emergency measure has risen twice. In both instances the Supreme Court held, by a split decision, that the General Assembly has exclusive authority to determine that an emergency exists, and such determination is not reviewable by the courts.

This holding is decidedly contrary to decisions in other states, but in Ohio there seems to have been little abuse by the legislature of this power

*Mr. Schwartz is director of the Legislative Reference Bureau of the State of Ohio. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 28, 1951.

to evade the referendum. The foundations of the court decisions seem weak, however, so that, in case of flagrant abuses in the future, there is a strong possibility they would be reversed.

While 1912 marks the beginning of the initiative and referendum in Ohio, the submission of constitutional amendments by the General Assembly to the electors has been authorized by the constitution since 1851.

Strong Support for I. and R.

At the time the initiative and referendum were introduced in the state, an upsurge of interest in direct legislation was sweeping the nation. The initiative, referendum and recall were magic words which seemed to revitalize public interest in good government and were looked upon as a panacea for all the ills of representative government. We find William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, J. B. Foraker, Judson Harmon, Hiram Johnson, Theodore E. Burton and other distinguished personalities of that day addressing the Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1912 on the initiative and referendum. Even at that time, a number of states, especially in the far northwest, had already a fund of experience with direct legislation.

Because of the constitutional provision guaranteeing each county at least one member in the House of Representatives, we find a rural-dominated House continually thwarting legislation designed or supported by metropolitan interests. The battle between population centers and the rural element is ever present.

The failure of the proposed constitutional amendment providing for the classification of property for taxation to win approval of the "Cornstalk Club," as our rural bloc in the House of Representatives was popularly known, postponed for some years submission of that amendment to the electorate by the General Assembly. As a result of this delay such a proposal was submitted to the voters by initiative petition on November 5, 1918.

At the same election the General Assembly submitted a proposed amendment to the same section and article, authorizing passage of laws to prevent the taxation of both real estate and the mortgage or debt secured thereby.

Court Interferes

Both proposals were adopted by the electorate but the Supreme Court subsequently held that since both purported to amend the same section, although there was no direct conflict between the two, only one could stand and, since the proposal submitted by the General Assembly received the larger affirmative vote, it and only it had been adopted. So the classification of property for purposes of taxation, although approved by the electorate, was postponed.

The General Assembly submitted a similar amendment November 4, 1919, but the electorate this time defeated it by approximately 80,000 votes. Again, the question, submitted by the legislature, was defeated by some 65,000 votes in 1925. The amendment was finally written into the constitution on November 5, 1929, by a 200,000 vote majority,

again having been submitted by joint resolution of the General Assembly.

The use of the initiative petition in Ohio to overcome the rural bloc in the General Assembly was illustrated when the women of the state exemplified the effectiveness of concerted action. They circulated petitions in 1948, placing Senate Bill No. 6, authorizing the manufacture and sale of colored oleomargarine, before the General Assembly in 1949. Upon failure of the House of Representatives to pass the bill after its adoption in the Senate, it was ordered placed upon the ballot November 8, 1949, by supplementary petitions and was adopted by a majority of almost a half million. The rural bloc in the House of Representatives had previously cornered this bill in 1941, 1945 and 1947.

Ballot Change Secured

An example of how aroused public interest has utilized the initiative to bring about needed remedies is the recent adoption of the so-called "Massachusetts" or "office type" ballot in Ohio. Bills providing for such a ballot were sidetracked in the 1937, 1939, 1941, 1945 and 1949 legislatures. Although there was no need for a constitutional amendment to achieve this purpose, the proposal, submitted by initiative petition, was finally adopted as section 2a of article V of the constitution in 1949.[1]

An examination of the operation of the initiative and referendum in Ohio affords a cross section of the public pulse as to leading issues of past years, issues which not only concerned the state's electorate but also posed questions of policy for the whole country.

Prohibition presents a long and varied history of the use of direct legislation. The issue was particularly hard fought in Ohio, the "dry capital of the United States" being situated at Westerville. Prohibition and related issues appeared on the ballot sixteen times, state prohibition being approved by the electors in 1918, after a number of attempts, and finally being repealed in 1933.

'Woman's Rights' Aided

Another important and popular issue finally determined in Ohio by the use of direct legislation was that of woman's rights. In 1913, the first election held after adoption of the initiative and referendum, women gained the right to hold certain positions in the state government by a constitutional amendment submitted by the General Assembly. This was the first step in the long uphill battle by women to gain full recognition in Ohio, culminating in 1923 in an amendment to the constitution eliminating the words "white male" to conform to federal requirements.

Direct legislation has served as a vehicle for the expression of the popular will in many other issues during the past 38 years, including workmen's compensation, old age pensions and debt limitations on political subdivisions, to name but a few.

The number of times the initiative and referendum were invoked throughout the early years and the gradual diminution in the number of

[1]See the REVIEW, December 1949, page 558; July 1951, page 367.

proposals present a graphic picture of the dynamics of popular participation in the legislative process. Out of a total of 74 proposals submitted between 1913 and 1951, exactly 50, or 67.6 per cent, were submitted during the first half of the period.

Out of the 74 questions, 28, or 37.8 per cent, were adopted. Twenty-nine of the proposals were constitutional amendments submitted by initiative petition, nine of which were adopted; 31 were constitutional amendments submitted by the General Assembly, sixteen of which were adopted; four were bills submitted to the General Assembly by initiative petition, two of which were adopted by the electorate; and ten were acts of the General Assembly upon which referendum petitions were filed, only one of which was approved by the electors—the Crabbe Act, relative to state prohibition and its enforcement, submitted in 1920.

Put to the Test

A test of the initiative and referendum as a means of registering the popular will may be made by determining what percentage of the electorate voted on the proposals submitted.

An average of the vote cast on all measures submitted by direct legislation each year of Ohio's experience was compared with the vote for governor. Since the governor is elected in even-numbered years, the comparison of referendum votes cast in odd-numbered years was with the governor's vote of the year previous. For this reason, the odd-numbered year percentages may not be entirely reliable, but they will be useful to show trends.

At the election held November 4, 1919, we find the only instance when the popular vote on proposals registered 101 per cent of the total vote cast for governor, the explanation being that one of the proposals was the repeal of statewide prohibition.

Only in four other elections, 1914, 1917, 1920 and 1927, did 90 per cent or more of the electorate voting for governor participate, and in only two elections, 1918 and 1922, was there a vote on proposals which constituted 80 to 90 per cent of the vote for governor.

On the other hand, the lowest ebb of popular interest was in 1925, when only 47 per cent of the electorate voting for governor participated in decisions on classification of property for taxation, debt limitations on political subdivisions and four-year terms for state and county officers.

Popular interest in proposals submitted within the last ten years shows 78 per cent in 1942, 64 per cent in 1944, 56 per cent in 1947, 62 per cent in 1949 and 52 per cent in 1951.

An average of the 38-year period shows 72 per cent of the electorate voting for governor casting ballots on proposals submitted.

After years of observation we can look upon direct legislation as only an adjunct to the regular legislative process, resorted to as a means of carrying out the public will when an enlivened public opinion demands it or as a method of accomplishing that purpose when such will has been thwarted by the legislative body.

The interest which precipitated the initiative and referendum in Ohio has gradually subsided, as evidenced by

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News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Kentucky Study Urges Constitution Changes

Advocates Continued Governmental Study

A FINAL report has been submitted to Governor Lawrence W. Wetherby by Kentucky's Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government, authorized by the legislature and appointed by Governor Earle C. Clements in 1950. The committee was directed to make "a comprehensive study and survey of the requirements, needs and responsibilities of the state government." During a period of eighteen months, intensive research and many committee discussions were conducted, and some twenty research reports and memoranda were prepared for the committee—chiefly by the staff of the Legislative Research Commission supplemented by additional personnel employed by the committee.

The life of the committee ended December 31, 1951. The 70-page final report, embodying its findings and recommendations, was prepared by the staff of the Legislative Research Commission, headed by Dr. Arthur Y. Lloyd, who also served as executive secretary and research director for the committee. It was submitted to the governor in January by Edward S. Dabney, of the Security Trust Company, Lexington, committee chairman. The vice chairman was James W. Martin of the University of Kentucky.

The committee was not charged with the duty of preparing a plan of state reorganization, but it urged that there be a re-examination and comprehensive study of the entire structure of the administration, giving attention to its relationships to the judicial and legislative branches, to the federal government and to local governments. It pointed out several examples of the scattering of responsibility for state functions. Various specific recommendations in the nature of changes in organization were made, some of them involving amendment of the state constitution. One sweeping recommendation was that the constitution "be revised to make possible the appointment of all state administrative officials except the governor and the lieutenant governor, and to enable the selection by the legislature of the auditor of public accounts." A true merit system for administrative employees, other than department heads and policy officials, was advocated.

State-local Relations

In the field of state-local relations it was recommended that the constitution be amended to permit the legislature to determine which county officers should be elected and which appointed. The legislature was urged to enact liberal home rule legislation for cities. The committee recommended the strengthening of the office of state-local finance officer in the Department of Revenue, making his services available to cities as well as counties and giving him supervision of all revenue debt issues of cities and counties. A finance officer was also urged for each county, to be appointed by the county judge with the approval of the "fiscal court" (composed of justices of the peace); but it was further recommended that the fiscal court be superseded by county commissioners elected at large; also that each county be empowered to

decide whether to retain the fee system or to compensate officers by salaries—the justices of the peace to be paid salaries rather than fees, however.

Legislative encouragement of consolidation of counties, school districts and other units of government, for economy and functional efficiency, was recommended.

Among numerous other recommendations the following may be noted:

The constitution should be amended to permit distribution of the entire common school fund on other than a census pupil basis (as is now required for all but 25 per cent) so as to promote equality of educational facilities and opportunities in all localities; to permit appointment of a qualified superintendent of public instruction—now elected for a four-year term; and to permit appointment of members of boards of colleges and universities for terms of six years or more.

Local tax commissions should be appointive rather than elective.

The Department of Highways should develop an over-all program balanced as to through routes, county roads and city streets and, as a long-range objective, should obtain authority over all roads in the state.

The legislature should create a Youth Authority to which all juvenile offenders would be committed.

A separate department of mental hospitals should be created.

Recognizing the wide scope of the task given the committee, and the desirability of further and more exhaustive study, the committee stressed a recommendation that another similar citizens advisory committee be appointed to work with the Legislative Research Commission and to make recommendations to the governor and legislature "for the continued improvement of the government of the commonwealth."

New Mexico Reorganization Committee Makes Studies

Created by the legislature in 1951, the New Mexico State Reorganization Committee has completed background surveys of the state and its administrative structure, the office of governor, several less important offices, state police, adjutant general, numerous funds, financial administration generally and the bureau of revenue in particular, public school administration, state land office, penal and reformatory institutions, and so on.

The function of the committee is to study the state executive branch and to submit by June 30, 1952, a report with recommendations for reorganization. Economy and efficiency are to be promoted and attention is to be given to "coordinating and streamlining the powers, functions and duties of state agencies and elective officers, within the constitutional limitations."

Other subjects of investigation are the budget system, personnel, corporation commission and other means of economic control, oil conservation commission and other agencies designed to conserve and develop natural resources, higher education, mines and mining, labor and employment, agriculture and rural problems, health and welfare, reorganization by departments and many possible improvements in organization and management.

The committee has already agreed on certain basic principles as a result of the research done to date. These include, among others, approval of a merit system for state employees, reorganization by departments, revision of present budget system and establishment of an improved system of accounting and reporting.

The committee is composed of seven members—three appointed by the governor, two by the president of

the Senate and two by the speaker of the House. The act required that in selecting the committee "the appointing officers shall consult with each other and, if possible, appoint at least one member of said committee having theoretical and practical knowledge of state government generally and the functions and duties of state agencies and elective officers, one member of the state bar familiar with state agencies and elective officers, one member familiar with the budgets and fiscal affairs of state agencies and elective officers, one member experienced in office management and personnel supervision, one auditor or accountant and two members at large."

Chairman of the committee is Earl L. Moulton, president of the Charles Ilfeld Company of Albuquerque; its secretary is Dr. Thomas C. Donnelly, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of New Mexico; and its work is directed by Dr. Frederick F. Blachly and Dr. Miriam E. Oatman, both formerly with Brookings Institution. Consultant services are provided by Princeton Surveys. A small staff of research workers is investigating special topics.

Georgia Outlaws Popular Vote for President

A bill barring the names of candidates for president or vice president from Georgia ballots in the national elections was signed on February 4 by Governor Herman Talmadge. It is claimed that the new law will give him virtually complete control over Georgia's twelve electoral votes this year.

Besides attempting to remove moral as well as legal obligations of individual electors to vote for specific candidates, the law creates a three-member board consisting of the governor, the secretary of state and the attorney general, with sole power to rule on any disputes arising under the act. It also makes it much more difficult for minor parties to get representatives on the ballot by requiring petitions to be signed by at least 200 voters in each of 100 out of Georgia's 159 counties.

An amendment in the Senate makes the law effective for only four years.

Permanent Registration Furthered in N Y. State

A report on virtues and defects of permanent personal registration was forwarded on February 4 to the New York legislature by Governor Thomas E. Dewey without recommendation. The report was based on research conducted by Dr. Robert F. Ray, director of the Institute of Public Affairs at the State University of Iowa, who was appointed last June by Governor Dewey to make an objective study of P. P. R. from the standpoints of cost and fraud. It found that although the first cost is high the systems in operation elsewhere have proved less costly than the periodic system prevalent in New York and that P. P. R. provides more safeguards against fraud. No marked effect on the extent of voter participation in elections was found.

Although favored by the Democratic party in New York State, P. P. R. is not endorsed by legislative leaders of the dominant Republican party. However, a bill for P. P. R., sponsored by the League of Women Voters of New York State, has been introduced by prominent Republicans —Senator Pliny W. Williamson and Assemblyman John R. Brook.

The Ray report contained 22 recommendations as to safeguards for a permanent registration system. Governor Dewey commented that the

present bills do not contain all of these.

Providence Solicits Voters' Registration

Local boards of canvassers in Providence, Rhode Island, are stimulating voter enrollment under the state's new permanent registration law. A large trailer has been made available to the canvassers and will cover the city, street by street. The trailer is large enough to accommodate about a dozen persons besides the two clerks who man it during the registration drive. Primary emphasis is on getting voter-housewives registered. Schedules of the route of the mobile registration unit, including shopping centers, are well advertised.

Under Rhode Island's new permanent registration law, voters must sign the lists before July 1 to be able to vote in this year's primaries.

Southwestern Civil Defense Compact Signed

The governors of Arizona, Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas have signed a six-state civil defense and disaster compact. Subsequent ratification by the Kansas legislature was necessary for that state to join. The compact is reported to be in substantial accord with the civil defense compact developed initially in the northeast in 1950.

Wisconsin Redistricting Referendum Challenged

The right of the Wisconsin legislature to condition state reapportionment on an advisory referendum concerning partial use of an area basis[1] has been challenged in a test suit. The citizen group bringing it seeks to require use of the legislative districts, tentatively established on a population basis by the 1951 legislature, in the 1952 fall election of state officials.

The State Supreme Court on January 11, 1952, refused to hear the suit without prior action by the circuit court.

The Wisconsin constitution provides that representation in both houses of the legislature shall be based on population. Use of area would therefore require amendment. Both houses of fifteen other states are also apportioned on the basis of population. All other states depart from population as the basis of apportionment either in the upper house, the lower house or both.

Wisconsin's state representation is based on the 1930 census, but in that reapportionment the districts were merely shuffled slightly within counties. Wisconsin, therefore, really belongs in the list of seventeen states which had their last reapportionment of both houses before 1930.

It is perhaps no coincidence that the 1920 census—the basis for Wisconsin's latest comprehensive reapportionment—was the last to report Wisconsin as having a predominantly rural population. The urbanization has continued and the 1950 census indicates 58 per cent of the population living in urban territory.

The legislature has had the maximum number of members authorized in the constitution since the reapportionment of 1862, 100 in the Assembly and 33 in the Senate. Each assembly district should therefore have about 1 per cent of the state's population and each senatorial district about 3 per cent.

According to the 1950 census Milwaukee, Wisconsin's largest city, is entitled to eighteen state assemblymen and six senators. Wards cannot be

[1]See the REVIEW, September 1951, page 423.

divided in the formation of assembly and senatorial districts. Milwaukee has had 27 wards since 1931. The 1949 legislature set a 90-day deadline after the official population census became known for the redistricting of the city's wards by the common council.

Assembly districts in Milwaukee County are also the districts for the election of supervisors to the county board. In February 1950 the common council of Milwaukee adopted a formula which provided that the city's wards are to be automatically redistricted after each federal census on the basis of having each ward as nearly 1 per cent of the state's population as possible. Three wards would then be a "natural" senatorial district, and each ward would be a "natural" assembly district and a county supervisor district as well. Thus, a single redistricting would assure fair representation in the common council, the county board and the legislature.

The council appointed a committee of city employees and representatives of civic groups to redistrict the city's 27 wards into eighteen wards—each to have about 1 per cent of the state's population. The director of the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau was chairman.

In November 1950, the council accepted the committee's plan, prepared by combining census tracts into eighteen wards according to the 1 per cent formula. The reapportionment passed by the legislature—contingent on the outcome of the statewide referendum—also accepted the eighteen wards as the districts for the election of assemblymen, and combined these wards into groups of three to form Milwaukee's six senatorial districts. Possibility of a referendum caused the Milwaukee council to postpone the effective date of the eighteen-ward plan. The April 1952 aldermanic election will be held on the basis of the old 27 wards.

PAULA LYNAGH
Citizens' Governmental
Research Bureau, Milwaukee

Puerto Rico Convention Approves New Constitution

On February 4 the Puerto Rico constitutional convention, by a vote of 88 to 3, approved in final form a home rule constitution, scheduled for submission to the voters in March. If approved by the voters it will go to the United States Congress for final action.

The document, including a bill of rights, closely follows the form of the United States constitution.

A serious dispute arose over a proposed clause defining the island's relationship to the United States. Rewritten to read, "To form a more perfect association with the United States," by substituting "association" for "union" to satisfy nationalist sentiment, the change was not acceptable to statehood advocates and the clause was deleted entirely.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

On February 11 a council-manager charter was adopted in **Vancouver, Washington,** (1950 population 41,644) by a vote of 4,313 to 2,023. The total vote was 34 per cent of the registration. Seven council members were also elected, to take office March 6 under the new charter. The council is elected at large; the three members receiving the largest vote in the 1952 election serve until 1956, the other four until 1954.

The voters of **Marine City, Michigan,** (1950 population 4,270) adopted a council-manager charter on December

10, 1951, by a vote of over two to one, and elected a commission (council) of seven, to take office immediately and initiate the new form of government. The latter replaces a 50-year-old charter.

Recent adoptions of the council-manager plan have taken place in **Mountain View, California,** (6,536) and **Uvalde, Texas,** (8,674).

In the town of **Stoneham, Massachusetts,** reported last year (April, page 212) as adopting the manager plan by a majority of two, a recount showed 1,415 votes in opposition and only 1,408 in favor and 369 blanks. Legislation provides, however, that the question must be placed on the ballot again this year and, if not successful, again next year. A 1950 vote favoring the plan 1,682 to 1,413 was declared illegal.

Newport, Rhode Island, voted for a charter commission on January 29. It is now at work on a council-manager charter to be presented to the voters next November.

In **Pawtucket, Rhode Island,** at a special election of a charter commission on January 29, all nine candidates supported by the Citizens League were elected. Although these candidates advocated no particular type of charter their opponents, who favored the strong mayor type, had charged that the Citizens League candidates were for the council-manager plan. The voters were not dismayed.

In **Bristol, Rhode Island,** officials of the rubber workers' union arranged an open forum for discussion of the council-manager plan, as part of the union's educational program. M. A. Tamburro, union field representative and a council-manager advocate, stated that the decision to hold the forum did not constitute union endorsement of the manager plan, and that the union members would vote as they pleased. The forum was reported to be the first move toward public discussion of the plan. A charter election is scheduled for the near future.

In **New York City** the *Herald Tribune,* in commenting editorially on the recurrent municipal financial crisis, suggested overhauling of the city's governmental structure, with the possibility that a city manager, "free of politics and solely devoted to business administration, could bring results."

The **Ellenville, New York,** Taxpayers Association is investigating the pros and cons of the manager plan.

The **Hoboken, New Jersey,** charter study commission is planning to send a ballot to every citizen for a straw vote on preferences as to type of charter. The *Jersey Journal* will present digests of the four proposed types—council-manager, strong mayor and council, commission as at present, and commission revised.

The **Miami, Florida,** city commission has appointed a committee to draft a new charter.

Chattahoochee, Florida, on February 5 rejected 179 to 104 a proposal to substitute a commission-manager plan for its existing mayor-council government.

Marysville, Michigan, which has had the manager plan since 1920, has voted two to one for a charter revision commission of nine to draft a modern council-manager charter.

In **Moline, Illinois,** a committee of seven has been exploring the manager plan, preparatory to submitting recommendations to the Association of Commerce.

The city council of **Highland Park, Illinois,** has appointed as city collector a former administrative assistant to the city manager of Portsmouth, Ohio, with the intention of making him a

city manager to a considerable extent, after six months experience under the present city clerk and acting collector. The new appointee would then have charge of all departments except those of the city clerk, city treasurer and corporation counsel. At the council meeting, on December 28, 1951, much opposition to the move was expressed by representatives of civic organizations, chiefly on the score that the so-called manager would not have adequate authority such as under a true council-manager plan — adoption of which would require a referendum election.

Interest in the manager plan is being shown in **Olney, Illinois,** particularly by the local radio station, WVLN.

Three of the five city commissioners of **Phenix City, Alabama,** announced support of the manager plan after it was endorsed at a meeting of 225 women on January 25, following the bombing of the home of an anti-vice crusader.

The **Biloxi, Mississippi,** Business Men's Club is sponsoring an educational campaign as to the council-manager plan, with the cooperation of ten other civic clubs.

A proposal to adopt the council-manager plan in **Cape Girardeau, Missouri,** was defeated on February 19 by a vote of 3,190 to 660. The plan was vigorously opposed by labor unions.

In **Topeka, Kansas,** the League of Women Voters has initiated a campaign for the manager plan.

Maine University Produces More Managers

That "the proof of the pudding is in the eating" seems to be indicated by the favorable reception accorded graduates of the University of Maine's city manager training program. The town of Bethel, Vermont, has hired three in succession. Its first manager, Paul Hermann, moved on to Bennington after three years and was followed by William Hatch in 1950; Hatch was recalled to military service late in 1951 and was followed by Theodore Nelson. Similarly, Mars Hill, Maine, hired Jerry Haynes in 1950 and when he was recalled to service in 1951 engaged Donald Waring as his successor. Leonard Bishop, Jr., became the first graduate to manage two communities simultaneously when he took on Levant in 1951, while continuing with nearby Carmel.

Eight graduates of the University of Maine's manager training program are now serving second communities in Maine or elsewhere; ten are managing their first towns; five hold other municipal jobs such as purchasing agent; four are serving in the armed forces and one is continuing his studies at the University of Pennsylvania. The remaining eight graduates have gravitated to private business—four of them directly. Managerial salaries have lagged sadly behind inflation and consequently some graduates decide that the combination of uncertain tenure, long hours, heavy responsibilities and low pay more than offsets the fascinatingly varied aspects of a career in local public service.

Basic features of the university's manager curriculum remain unchanged since its inauguration in 1945: an undergraduate program open to arts and technology students gives a special degree in public management at the end of four years, an M.A. for a fifth year. Accounting, surveying, highway and sanitary engineering, municipal government and administration, personnel management—these are typical courses.

Success of the program is due largely to veteran managers who take

one or more "interns" and put them through a course of sprouts—which may include drafting financial reports, writing the annual report and acting as a substitute for the tax collector, purchasing agent, welfare officer or even the manager, while they take their annual vacations. Undergraduates are carefully screened for character, personality and ability—currently 40 students are enrolled, ranging in age from 17 to 53 years.

Leo Morency, a senior, is enjoying the unusual opportunity of seeing his future job from both sides of the table, for he is a member of the city council in his home town and chairman of the junior chamber of commerce. Here is one future manager who will never forget the public point of view as represented by the city council!

EDWARD F. DOW, *Director,*
Manager Training Program
University of Maine

Seventeen Washington Cities in Civil Defense Pact

King County, Washington, and seventeen cities and towns in the county—the largest of which is Seattle—have entered into a mutual aid civil defense agreement. It provides that each party to the agreement shall furnish the King County Office of Civil Defense an inventory of its facilities, equipment and man power available for civil defense use. If any municipality in the agreement suffers a disaster requiring aid from the others, such aid will be supplied, at its request through the county office, in the maximum amount of equipment, facilities and man power that the assisting governments can reasonably spare. It is also agreed that all possible facilities for receiving and caring for evacuees will be furnished.

Whiteville, N. C., Has Radio Program for Year

Using time donated by a local radio station for a weekly radio program, Whiteville, North Carolina, has presented its municipal problems and accomplishments to its citizens for a year. City officials report a changed attitude toward the city government—even complaints show more understanding of local government.

Conference on Legal Problems of Local Government

The University of Buffalo School of Law has sponsored for the first time an annual conference on legal problems of local government, held at the school February 5 and 6. The conference was opened with a talk by Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Moore of New York State. Municipal bonds were discussed by Arnold Frye of New York City. On February 6 the topics were special districts and tort liability of local governments.

Upson Fellowships Offered for Third Year

The Citizens Research Council of Michigan (formerly the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research) announces for the third year the offering of five Lent D. Upson fellowships, in honor of the late director of the bureau, for graduate training in public administration. Instruction is given at Wayne University, with on-the-job training in the Research Council. They are for twelve to fifteen months beginning in July or September 1952. Information may be secured from Loren B. Miller, executive director of the Research Council, 810 Farwell Building, Detroit 26, Michigan.

Recommends Business Methods for County

Oneida, N. Y., Survey Calls for Appointive Executive

IN response to a resolution adopted last summer by the Oneida County, New York, Board of Supervisors, there has been released an exhaustive study of the county's government.[1] The Municipal Research Bureau of Utica contributed its efforts as a public service.

The survey committee of 25 concludes that Oneida County is engaged in big business and that it should be organized along business lines. It emphasizes that the first requirement is for a single executive responsible and accountable for the management of administrative activities. The committee urges that the county executive be appointed by the board of supervisors solely on the basis of his training, ability and experience as an administrator, asserting "politics and residence should have no part in his selection." It suggests a term of at least four years, but believes that the administrator should be removed at any time for reasons and by procedures outlined in the law.

The committee observes that, "Present functions and activities of an administrative nature now dispersed among 76 separate departments, boards, commissions and committees would be consolidated." It recommends creation of departments of finance, law, public welfare, public works, public safety, records and licenses, and public health. "These seven departments," the committee continues, "each with a head appointed by the county executive, would constitute the administrative system of the county government. All county activities would be brought into the framework of these departments and each county function would be placed in the department that could most economically and effectively perform that particular function. . . . The consolidation of all administrative activities into seven departments under the unified control of a county executive would provide Oneida County with a modern administrative structure organized to meet the present and future needs of a county destined to assume an increasingly important role as a unit of local government."

[1] *A Study of the Government of Oneida County*, Oneida County Survey Committee, Utica, December 1951, 80 pages.

Nevada Discusses County Consolidation

Consolidation of counties is a subject of continuing interest and discussion in Nevada. Current arguments in its favor center mainly on the drastic shifts in population which have taken place in recent years. Proponents declare that consolidation would undoubtedly save considerable sums in cost of administration. In a few instances, the staffs of the new counties might require additions but, they assert, the new total would be considerably smaller than the present staff in all counties.

In 1948 the Nevada Legislative Bureau issued a bulletin suggesting consolidation of the present seventeen counties into nine new ones.

Consolidation would require legislative action under section 36 of article IV of the constitution, which states:

"The legislature shall not abolish any county unless the qualified voters of the county affected shall, at a general or special election, first approve such proposed abolishment by a majority of all voters voting at such election.

"The legislature shall provide by law the method of initiating and conducting such election."

The Nevada Taxpayers Association recently declared:

"Even those who are opposed to any county consolidation plan will agree that the legislature should comply with the implied request of the constitution in setting up the necessary laws for county abolishment. While it is true that the constitution does not specifically state that the legislature *must* provide such a law, nevertheless, the intent of the wording 'shall provide' would appear to be that such a law would be forthcoming.

"It is hoped that the legislature will take such action in its next session. It is a strange anomaly to have a constitution set up the method by which the citizenry may exercise their will, and then to have such action thwarted by the failure of the legislature to provide the enabling law."

Maine Paper Recommends Abolition of County

The *Sentinel* of Waterville, Maine, has expressed itself in favor of abolishing all county government in the state. Its editorial commented:

"The statement from the attorney general's office of irregularities in the accounts of some county officials and the arrest of one such gives another reason why this unnecessary branch of our government should be abolished. It has been known for a long time that the county organization serves no good purpose and that all of the functions of its officials could easily be taken over at the state or town level, but people are very slow to change especially if something in the line of office holding is concerned. Those in office do not like the idea of a change and those who hope to obtain a county office are of course against any such move."

King Co. Charter Commission Defeats Opposition

The work of the Board of Freeholders of King County, Washington, is meeting with opposition. Leaders of both major political parties have attempted to prevent the allocation of funds necessary to employ a charter draftsman. At a public hearing before the county commissioners, the charter board chairman explained that the county law was voluminous and, since King County was the first in the state to draft its own charter, "it presents a tremendous legal job in an uncharted field." The attempts of the chairman of the King County Democratic Committee and the president of the Young Men's Republican Club failed when the county commissioners unanimously approved the request of the freeholders for $3,240 with which to employ an attorney to draft the charter.

Opponents then attacked the action of the county commissioners in approving the request by bringing a taxpayers' suit in the Superior Court, where they were once again defeated. On February 16 Judge Henry Clay Agnew declared:

"The court is of the opinion that it is King County that is framing a charter. The fifteen freeholders are merely the agency created by the amendment for the purpose of acting for the county. In the opinion of the court they are either officers, agents or employees of the county.

"It is true that the amendment does not specifically provide that the county shall pay the expense necessarily incident but, inasmuch as it provides that the county may frame a home rule charter and that such home rule charter is for said county, I cannot see any other ruling possible than that the expense incident to it is a governmental expense."

Colorado Counties and Cities Exchange Cooperation Pledge

Both the president of the Colorado State Association of County Commissioners, speaking before the convention of the Colorado Municipal League, and the league's president, addressing the convention of the county commissioners, stressed the need for cooperation between county and municipal governments.

Milwaukee County Welfare Reorganized

As a result of a law passed by Wisconsin's 1951 legislature, Milwaukee County has established a single public welfare board to replace its two boards of public welfare—one in charge of institutions and the other responsible for non-institutional public assistance. The director of the central administrative agency will be appointed by the public welfare board from a civil service list, and he will be responsible for managing, operating, maintaining and improving the county institutions and "home relief." He will appoint the heads of the institutions and major units from a civil service list, with the approval of the board.

Texas to Study Its Counties

The Texas Legislative Council has initiated action to study the changes believed needed in county government. It is contemplated that some changes may require constitutional revision.

County Highway Techniques Advance

According to a recent issue of *Better Roads,* county highway construction techniques have made marked advances in the past two decades. One article describes the progress in soils investigations by Oneida County, New York, and another describes the use of air photos by Ingham County, Michigan, for highway construction work. The soil surveys help determine the location and design of important county roads and extend the life of bridges and pavement. Air photos are especially valuable in determining natural drainage contours as well as in locating potential gravel pits. They greatly reduce the amount of time needed by ground crews for these activities.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

State-local Debt Reaches New Peak

1951 Figure Runs Eleven Billion Over Low of 1946

STATE and local debt in the United States reached a new peak of $27,040,000,000 on June 30, 1951, according to the annual estimates of the Bureau of the Census (*Governmental Debt in 1951,* Washington, D. C., December 1951). The total was $2,849,000,000 above that of a year earlier and $11,118,000,000 above the low registered following the close of the war, in 1946. At the 1951 date the obligations of the states amounted to $6,373,000,000 and those of local governments to $20,667,000,000.

The increase from 1950 to 1951 was less than during the preceding year, before credit restraints and material shortages arising from the Korean conflict slowed down construction schedules, but it reflected a continuation of postwar improvement programs at all levels of local government. Borrowing for these programs had by mid-1949 wiped out all the debt reduction accomplished during the war years, when state-local improvement work ground to a virtual halt, as shown by a summary of the estimated state-local debt from 1940 to 1951 set forth in the table below:

By far the larger part of the local indebtedness, as in earlier years, is the obligation of the cities. Cities represented $11,721,000,000 or 43.3 per cent of the 1951 total. School districts accounted for $3,257,000,000 or 12.0 per cent, while county debt was $1,875,000,000 or 6.9 per cent of the total. Townships represented $411,000,000 or 1.5 per cent, and a variety of special districts accounted for the remaining $3,403,000,000. Indebtedness incurred for water, electric, gas and transit systems accounted for $4,373,000,000 of the total city indebtedness and $1,035,000,000 of the special district debt.

Percentagewise, the largest increase in local indebtedness from mid-1950 to 1951 was shown by the school districts, with a gain of 20.2 per cent. Cities and special districts each registered increases of 7.5 per cent, while the county debt rose by 9.8 per cent. State debt in 1951 was 18.9 per cent higher than in 1950.

Significantly, while state-local debt has risen to successive new peaks the last several years, the cost of servicing it is still below that of prewar years. Interest payments by cities for the fiscal year 1950 were estimated at $313,000,000 compared with $419,000,000 in 1932 when city debt was less than ten billion dollars. Interest for all state-local debt in 1950 was an

STATE-LOCAL DEBT (*In Thousands*)

June 30	*State Debt*	*Local Debt*	Total
1940	$3,526,000	$16,720,000	$20,246,000
1946	2,358,000	13,564,000	15,922,000
1947	2,978,000	13,847,000	16,825,000
1948	3,722,000	14,980,000	18,702,000
1949	4,024,000	16,851,000	20,875,000
1950	5,361,000	18,830,000	24,191,000
1951	6,373,000	20,667,000	27,040,000

estimated $615,000,000 compared with $840,000,000 in 1932 when the state-local debt was about two-thirds as large as at present. The situation reflects the relatively low interest costs prevailing since the late 1930s and especially since the war.

Officials Hail State Grants of Taxing Powers

Reviewing the action taken by states in 1951 to relieve the needs of cities for additional revenues, the Municipal Finance Officers Association found that at least fourteen states enacted legislation extending new grants of taxing power to their municipalities.

Notable among the new authorizations was the permission granted by Tennessee for a local 10 per cent tax on beer. During the second half of 1951, according to the association, 85 cities and counties took advantage of the enactment to impose local levies. A use tax on liquor sales was authorized in California and West Virginia allowed cities to impose taxes on motor vehicles and domestic animals as well as a per capita tax.

Washington granted authority to its counties to levy a 1 per cent tax on real estate sales, proceeds of which must be allocated to the support of local school districts. New York granted New York City permission to increase its sales tax from 2 to 3 per cent. Montana okayed a 2 per cent city tax on punch boards. New Mexico authorized a 1 cent per pack cigarette tax for recreational purposes.

North Dakota became the 48th state which uses the state administered-locally shared tax device. It added 1 cent to its cigarette tax, the proceeds of which are to be distributed to the cities. Nebraska imposed a new tax on insurance companies which it halves with its municipalities. Wyoming imposed a 2 cents per pack cigarette tax, proceeds of which are to go to all local government units in the state, less a charge of 2 per cent for administration.

Licensing powers of cities were increased by several states: Illinois cities may tax amusement and vending machines; Minnesota municipalities can license elevator operators, cigarette dealers and mechanical amusement devices; South Dakota cities may now retain liquor license fees which formerly went to the state; and Texas doubled the license rate for juke boxes.

Several states permitted or extended the authority of their cities to use sewer service charges, including Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New York and West Virginia. North Dakota now permits the imposition of garbage refuse collection charges.

Oregon has allocated part of the state liquor revenue to its cities and Kansas increased the cities' share of the state motor fuel vehicle tax.

Dutch Cities Find Borrowing Costly

Sharply contrasting with efforts in the United States to combat inflationary influences by stiffening interest costs to borrowers is the situation in the Netherlands, where the Dutch government is fostering a "cheap money" policy which has all but barred municipalities from the capital market.

The story is told in a dispatch to the *New York Times* on February 3, 1952, describing the efforts of Dutch municipalities to raise funds for housing construction in the face of a government regulation prohibiting them from paying more than 4 per cent interest. (The *Daily Bond Buyer's* latest index of municipal bond yields here stood just a shade over 2 per cent!)

Four per cent loan issues ac-

(Continued on page 171)

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Minneapolis Citizens League Organized

Formation Follows Study by Investigating Committee

LED BY prominent members of the community, citizens of Minneapolis, after several months of study and investigation, have organized the Citizens' League of Greater Minneapolis. At an organizational meeting on February 14 a 27-member board of directors, including leaders in various civic activities, was elected and by-laws adopted. Hereafter the board will comprise eighteen directors elected for three-year staggered terms.

As set forth in its articles of incorporation, the purposes of the league are: To investigate, study and disseminate information concerning governmental affairs of Minneapolis and the surrounding metropolitan area; to promote the honest and efficient performance of governmental functions; to encourage the choice of competent officials; to promote the welfare of the citizens.

Within a two-weeks period during late February and early March the new organization held some 38 evening "fireside" meetings with attendance between 15 and 30.

Leaders of the committee which investigated the feasibility of forming such an organization included members of a group which led a 1951 campaign to reduce the membership of the Minneapolis city council from 26 to 13. Their success prompted them to consider establishment of a continuing organization which would deal with many civic problems.

Meetings arranged by the committee were addressed by Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary of the National Municipal League, and C. A. Crosser, executive secretary of the Seattle Municipal League. For three days both men spoke before a series of meetings—from breakfast until evening. Audiences included the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce, 100 business leaders, 200 interested men and women, a group of representative women including officers of the League of Women Voters, the Council of Community Clubs and a group of liberal leaders.

New and Old in Civic Organizations

A group of men and women in Briarcliff Manor and Briarcliff School District, New York, has formed the Briarcliff Civic Association. The organization is intended as a forum for discussion of village affairs as well as a means of sounding out public opinion for the guidance of elected officials. It is planned as "a permanent citizens organization available at all times to our local boards for communicating facts and enlisting public support of important plans and projects." The association will work through standing committees each covering a different phase of village affairs.

Leaders of the Committee of 100 of Yonkers, New York, long inactive in civic affairs, are considering a revival of the organization to deal with pressing public problems. Since 1938, when it began operations in connection with the city budget discussion, it has worked for charter improvements, more adequate public information on tax lien compromise applications, reorganization of city pension systems, etc. One of its major achievements

was its aid in the fight of the Yonkers *Herald Statesman* for open sessions of all municipal council, school board and other public group meetings.

What Goes with the Voters in 1952

With a presidential election looming in 1952, many organizations are urging voters to register and get out to the polls on primary and election days.

"You *can* nominate a president," says Miss Janet Uren in *Forward*, bulletin of the League of Women Voters of Wisconsin. "Wisconsin is one of sixteen states in which delegates to national party conventions are elected directly by the people in a presidential preference primary. . . . The Wisconsin voter, casting his ballot in the spring election on April 1, has an opportunity, through his choice of convention delegates, to affect the action of the convention and participate in the process of nominating his party's candidate for the highest office in our government."

In its *Voters Guide to the 1952 Elections*, the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana asks, "Your candidate—will he measure up to the need of the office he seeks?" Pointing out that, since Louisiana has a one-party system, the primaries are of particular significance, voters are called upon to register and to "size up the candidates." "Participation by citizens in the election of officials is the key to the success of a democracy." The pamphlet lists candidates for state offices with biographical material. It makes no recommendations.

The Municipal League of Seattle and King County, in its *Municipal News* for February 2, lists local candidates for the February primary election, with biographical material and league "comment," prepared after interviews with candidates. In the same city the League of Women Voters held a "Candidate's Merry-go-round" to which all voters were invited to hear those seeking election to local office.

"1952 Election Facts" is a four-page folder issued by the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy. It lists the number of officials to be voted on in Philadelphia this year, present officials of the city, shows ward boundaries and population, lists dates on the election calendar and qualifications for voting.

The League of Women Voters of New York State and its local branches are once again striving to secure passage of a permanent personal registration bill by the legislature.[1] The league has been joined in its efforts by the Democratic and Liberal parties as well as the newly formed Election Reform Committee, headed by Bruce Bromley, Republican, former associate judge of the State Court of Appeals. The League of Women Voters believes that under permanent registration: "more people will be able to vote, money will be saved, registration lists will be more accurate, voters will have increased protection, party work will be more effective."

Those 'Hoover' Commissions

The city of Chicago now boasts a "Little Hoover Commission," appointed by Mayor Kennelly to investigate city expenditures. Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary of the Civic Federation of Chicago and a member of the Chicago City Club, which endorsed the proposal, has been named staff director. In supporting the proposal, John A. Lapp, president of the City Club, commented: "The club believes that the results obtained by the Schaefer com-

[1] See also page 148, this issue.

mission in Illinois and the Hoover commission in Washington justify a similar commission for Chicago. . . . The City Club is convinced that such a study will disclose poor administrative organization in some departments, overlapping of functions by departments, and some unnecessary municipal functions and expenditures."

The Detroit Citizens League's *Civic Searchlight* publishes a story on Michigan's "Little Hoover Commission," which recently rendered its final report.[1] The article describes the part played by the 45 citizens from various sections of the state who provide "the reaction to the recommendations made by the research staff. Such reaction is reported to the joint committee in the form of approval, disapproval or amendment. . . . The Citizens Advisory Committee has been industrious and faithful to the trust reposed in it . . .," says the story. "All in all, a vast amount of time and effort has been contributed by the members . . . in this matter of governmental reorganization."

Apropos of securing passage of legislation before Congress to complete reorganization of the federal administration in line with recommendations of the Hoover Commission, the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report sets forth "A Plan." "You are part of a Plan," says a recent circular, "to secure action on one of the BIG SIX bills by May 31."

The committee's lists for each state have been divided into six parts, each sixth is asked to concentrate on only one of the six bills, writing senators and representatives. Members of the proper Senate and House committees are reported. "Each mailing is being geared to a special action by our BIG SIX committee chairmen," says the committee. "The effectiveness of the PLAN therefore depends on each task force member writing at the specified time."

[1]See the REVIEW, January 1952, page 57.

* * *

Strive for Merit System

A coordinating committee on government personnel has been established by 27 representatives of citizen organizations in Illinois, reports the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. Its chief aim is to educate citizen groups and the people as a whole to recognize the part that effective personnel practice plays in good government. Specific problems will be studied in cooperation with the Illinois Civil Service Commission. The radio program, "Know Your Illinois," devoted one of its broadcasts to why good personnel administration should be of concern to the citizen.

The Connecticut Merit System Association published its "Annual Report 1950-1951," by William E. C. Bulkeley, president, in January's *Merit Man.* During the past two years the organization, which covers local governments as well as the state, increased its membership by 320. Numerous projects were accomplished during 1950-1951:

The association aided materially in securing passage of an amendment to the New Britain merit system act concerning the civil service commission and adoption by the New Britain city council of the compensation and classification plan which had waited two years for passage. It reviewed the New Haven civil service system and has investigated complaints arising under it. It drafted and submitted three bills affecting the state merit system: a modernized enabling act for municipalities, an act making the personnel department an independent government unit and a constitutional

amendment providing for the merit principle in making government appointments, working unsuccessfully for their adoption. The report lists numerous other activities.

* * *

News on Manager Front

In its study of the council-manager plan, the Chamber of Commerce of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, mailed a questionnaire to some 56 manager cities of approximately the same size. Results are tabulated in a seven-page mimeographed pamphlet. Of 46 replies from cities where the plan has been in effect for some time, 45 replied yes to the question, "Is it efficient?", one replied no. On the question, "Is it popular?", 42 replied yes, three said no, and one made no comment. The questionnaires were sent to the executive directors of chambers of commerce in the cities concerned.

The League of Women Voters of Hoboken, New Jersey, is continuing its efforts to secure council-manager government for that city. It has urged local citizens to attend meetings of the local commission charged with recommending a new charter for the city.

A revised version of its proposed new council-manager charter for Long Beach, California, on which it has been working for several years, has been published by that city's Civic League. Aiding in the revision is Dr. Edwin A. Cottrell of the Haynes Foundation, professor emeritus of Stanford University.

The text of a report on the town government of Wethersfield, Connecticut, prepared by a special committee, was unanimously adopted by the Businessmen's and Civic Association early this year. As a result, a town meeting may be called to act on choosing a charter commission. The report favors adoption of the town manager plan as against a proposal to make the town's first selectman, an elected member of the governing body, a full-time employee. "It is the opinion of your committee," says the report, "that the town manager offers greater assurance of sound government. . . . Your committee recommends that the association go on record in favor of council-manager government . . . and for the appointment of a town committee to prepare a charter providing for this form of government to be submitted to the town for approval at town meeting and to the next session of the General Assembly for enactment into law."

A citizens meeting in Wethersfield, sponsored by the Charter-Council Manager Association, was addressed by Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Municipal League, and Leslie M. Gravlin, director of the Governmental Research Institute of Hartford.

* * *

Community Councils

Community councils in Michigan are listed in the December 1951 *Michigan Community News Letter,* published by the University of Michigan's School of Education and the Extension Service "in the interest of community adult education." Forty-seven communities, ranging from Mesick with a population of 359 to Detroit, with 1,838,517, have such councils. In Detroit a Federation of Community Councils is made up of some fourteen neighborhood groups. Short histories of each organization are reported.

The same organization has published an attractive leaflet, *What Some Communities Have Done for Themselves—A Catalogue of Community Activities* (31 pages). It covers reports on community cooperation, community service, adult education, recreation, youth activities and self-surveys.

The story of community clinics and developments councils in Arkansas is told by C. Hamilton Moses, president of the Arkansas Economic Council and State Chamber of Commerce in *The American City* for January. The community leadership program has been at work in Arkansas since 1943. Sponsored by the Arkansas Economic Council, an organization of 1,200 citizens, and the State Resources and Development Commission, it is designed to encourage communities to solve their own problems. It provides community counsellors and stimulates citizenship interest in local problems by the conduct of community clinics.

Community development councils formed as a result of the plan, representing local civic clubs, churches, veterans' groups, labor unions, farm agencies and women's clubs, furnish the leadership for community action, reports Mr. Moses. "Great emphasis is placed on the 'Build Your Home Town' aspect of the program—to make it a better community in which to live and raise children, and to maintain the interest of high school graduates and young people so that they will not leave the community and the state for other areas. It is recognized that the quality of schools, hospitals, recreation, streets, churches, etc., is an important factor considered by the industrialist in locating a new plant or relocating an old one."

More than 500 community meetings have been held since the program started, says Mr. Moses. In the past two years community clinics have been held for the first time in 171 communities and repeat performances in 40.

Apropos of community development is an illustrated pamphlet by the Industrial Committee of the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce. Titled *Start Now . . . A Community Development Program to Make Your Town and County More Prosperous,* it sets forth a proposed organization chart which can be tailored to fit the needs of different communities. An analysis sheet covers many phases of community life and a planned program and objectives gives suggestions for committee work.

* * *

NACS Plans History

Chester J. Morse, executive secretary of the Detroit Citizens League, has agreed to serve as historian of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, to collect and compile a summary of its history. A resolution adopted at the association's annual meeting[1] requested Miss H. Marie Dermitt, NACS secretary for many years, to lend her aid to the project. The resolution read:

WHEREAS Honorary Member H. Marie Dermitt was the first woman member of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, and

WHEREAS Miss Dermitt is now with us in spirit as demonstrated by and in her communications,

NOW, THEREFORE, we request her assistance and special knowledge so that the history of this association may be gathered, compiled and narrated by Historian Chester J. Morse, and

WE HEREBY make note of the kind, able, loyal and valued services of a 32-year active and now honorary member—these past six years—and send our most sincere and best wishes.

* * *

On the Job Day and Night

"League Days" with luncheon and "League Nights" with dinner are being scheduled by the League of Women Voters of St. Louis. The first two this year—League Day January 10 and League Night January 23—were devoted to a Voters School. "Party Organization — State and

[1]See the REVIEW, January 1952, page 53.

Local," was discussed, in each instance, by Aloys P. Kaufmann, former mayor of St. Louis, and Mrs. LuRene Kaiser and Miss Cleta M. Smith, Democratic and Republican committeewomen, and Dr. Paul G. Steinbicker of St. Louis University, the latter talking on "Our National Election."

The February meetings discussed Scrambled Administration or Streamlined Organization? with particular reference to conservation agencies. Robert Leach of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and a discussion panel covered the subject.

* * *

'Cease Smoke'

Across from City Hall, monthly digest of civic affairs issued by the Citizens Union of New York City, illustrates its latest report on efforts to secure smoke abatement in its "fair" city with the Navy signal flags meaning "cease smoke."

* * *

Tracing Its Ancestry

"Everybody is celebrating Seattle Centennial," says the *Seattle Municipal News,* "so we'd better get into the act." The Municipal League of Seattle "can't go back 100 years but we can trace our ancestry back to March 17, 1894, when the first Municipal League of Seattle was formed." Securing legislative approval of a bill for first class cities to "alter, change, revise, add to or repeal their respective charters," in 1895, this first Municipal League closed shop. The present organization was founded fifteen years later; first number of the *Municipal League News* was published in June 24, 1911.

In 1910 the Seattle league began with 120 charter members. Today it boasts 4,728 as of the end of the year. The league's latest promotion leaflet —black on white with blue trimmings— gives a capsule description of its work, inviting prospects to "join with your fellow citizens who, through the Municipal League, are making democracy work . . . at home."

* * *

'The People Act'

Beginning early in January, to run for 26 weeks, a new citizen program is being aired over CBS. Titled "The People Act," each radio broadcast tells of the efforts of one community to solve problems of community living. The programs are presented by the TV-Radio Workshop, established by the Ford Foundation, each Sunday evening, from 10:05 to 10:30 P.M., eastern standard time.

The New York State Citizens' Council has brought the programs to the attention of its members, suggesting organization of listener groups, getting more CBS local stations to carry the program, utilization of the ideas and suggestions heard, etc.

* * *

Strictly Personal

The Commonwealth Club of California, a statewide organization numbering some 7,000 members, has elected Justice Maurice T. Dooling, Jr., a member of the California District Court of Appeals, as its 1952 president. Twenty-third president since the club was founded in 1903, Justice Dooling succeeds Ray B. Wiser.

Mrs. John A. Hogan of Durham, first vice president of the League of Women Voters of New Hampshire, has succeeded Mrs. Harris Thomas, president, who has resigned.

Harris A. Reynolds, an attorney, has been appointed executive secretary of the Massachusetts Civic League, to devote a major part of his time to league activities.

Succeeding Francis A. Harrington, Thomas S. Green, Jr., has been elected president of the Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

State Research Outfits Show Varied Picture

Objectives, Publicity, Money, Official Relations Reviewed

WHILE the earliest statewide civic research agencies date back about 40 years, this phase of the citizens governmental research movement is still in an experimental stage. This fact, pointed out by Charlton F. Chute, director of the Pennsylvania Economy League's Southeastern Division, was illustrated by the variety of experiences and methods related in a discussion of statewide research and action at the National Conference on Government in Cincinnati, November 28.

Mr. Chute presided over the panel which included Hubert Stone of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Loren B. Miller of the Citizens Research Council of Michigan, Kimbrough Owen of the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, John P. Reynolds of the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, Vernon G. Wahlberg of the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce, Mrs. Maurice Noun of the Iowa League of Women Voters and Robert O'Hare of the Citizens League of Pawtucket. Members of the League of Women Voters of Ohio participated, Mrs. Roger Humphries of the League of Women Voters of Cincinnati serving as reporter.

The discussion brought out that objectives as well as methods of financing and of dealing with the public and with governmental agencies and the extent to which the organizations move from research to action differ so widely that there is as yet no basic pattern for statewide civic research. This is apparently due partly to the fact that much of the research at this level is an incident of the programs of such diverse membership organizations as state chambers of commerce, taxpayers associations and leagues of women voters.

While the research of such agencies as the Pennsylvania Economy League, Citizens Research Council of Michigan and the new Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana is all done by staff members, leagues of women voters and to some extent chambers of commerce are likely to involve active participation by a considerable number of lay members serving on committees. Mr. Wahlberg reported that in the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce 750 business executives are actively serving on committees gathering information in many fields such as social security, personnel relations, education, state and local taxation.

How LWV Works

Mrs. Noun pointed out that the League of Women Voters finds it necessary to work extensively on a limited number of projects requiring a good deal of fact-finding. She reported that several years ago the Iowa league did a handbook on Iowa government while in 1950 it studied the problem of the legislative council and in 1951 had been studying home rule. Since the Cincinnati conference, the home rule study has been mimeographed and issued under the general title, *Study of the Relationship Between State and Municipal Governments in Iowa with Special Emphasis on Local Home Rule.*[1]

[1]Part one, "General Discussion of Home Rule," 9 pages, 11 cents; Part two, "Relationship Between State and Municipal Governments in Iowa," 19 pages, 13 cents.

The study includes a clear concise statement on legislative and constitutional home rule, the difficulties of achieving home rule, the arguments for and against it and the rather unusual history and nature of the relations between state and municipal government in Iowa with a critique of the present system of local legislation. This is an excellent example of work of professional caliber done wholly or mainly by volunteers.

The Pennsylvania Economy League, founded in 1933, is a statewide organization that has decentralized its operation and consequently its dealings with local government by setting up four regional offices and seventeen county branches in the more populous areas, each of which has its own county secretary. The Economy League stays away from action programs. Its dealings, for the most part, are directly with public officials.

The Connecticut Public Expenditure Council is an example of a statewide organization that does not maintain local branches but does, through its municipal counsellor, work closely with local officials and local citizens.

Both the Pennsylvania and Connecticut organizations do a good deal of work at the state level.

The Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance is a research organization with a staff of twenty. It does not lobby but its staff is available for consultation. They frequently serve as advisors to state committees and officials and make studies for local groups at low cost. The alliance reaches the citizen directly through regular radio programs and publications, including its annual dictionary of all state and federal taxes levied in Wisconsin, with convenient income tax guide.

The Citizens Research Council of Michigan was recently formed through merger of the Bureau of Governmental Research of Detroit and the Michigan Public Expenditure Survey because the two groups found that their programs were becoming more and more similar and overlapping. This merger is a logical outcome of the increasing importance of state-local relations. Ninety per cent of the effort of the council during the past two years has been on the Michigan Little Hoover Commission for which the council has served as principal staff agency with its director, Loren B. Miller, serving as director.

While chambers of commerce and leagues of women voters are themselves frankly action organizations, other groups that put principal emphasis on research and information draw the line beyond which they will not go toward direct action in the light of their own experiences and evaluation of the climate in which they operate.

A New Group

Mr. Owen of the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana remarked that his group was just six months old and consequently he did not know how it will work out the relation between research and action. He pointed out that the stated purpose of the council is research and distribution of information and that, for the present at least, the problem in Louisiana is an absence of information on governmental matters.

The panel recognized that there are situations in which it is necessary to set up *ad hoc* groups for particular purposes as, for example, to campaign for a constitutional convention or revision. Mr. Miller of Michigan said he felt the need for such a group to put over the Little Hoover report because up to now the work has been only with the legislators. Mr. O'Hare said that in

Rhode Island it had been found necessary to establish a special Rhode Island home rule organization in order to secure the 1951 home rule amendment and, since then, to assist local groups in working for home rule in their communities.

In Illinois, on the other hand, it was the State Chamber of Commerce which, during 1951, coordinated the efforts of other existing statewide and local groups to secure adoption of the state council-manager enabling act.

Philadelphia's Charter

The Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research has been using its weekly publication, *Citizens' Business,* to acquaint its readers with changes brought about by the new city charter. Among the topics discussed are newly created offices and agencies such as the city representative and the administrative board, and changed status of certain of the agencies. The December 31, 1951, number contains a chart showing the new setup.

* * *

Bureau Notes

The Municipal Technical Advisory Service of the University of Tennessee, in a recent *MTAS Report,* presents *A Post-Conference Roundup,* by George S. Blair and Wendell H. Russell, the story of the first annual Tennessee Conference on Municipal Government.

On February 4 the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research published its 2,000th issue of *Citizens' Business.* The bureau presents a review of its aims and methods in its December 24 number.

The Danger Point in Taxes is a four-page promotional pamphlet of the Waterbury (Connecticut) Taxpayers' Association, "a non-partisan, non-profit, citizen-sponsored organization, serving municipal officials through research in local government."

Steps toward the reorganization of the Washington State Taxpayers Association were initiated at the annual business session of its trustees and executive committee as a result of the tremendous growth in membership during the past year. "Under the new plan, the organization will be incorporated as a non-profit corporation stressing research into problems of state and local government." The association's executive board, in its January 23 issue of *Your Tax Facts,* outlines its research program for 1952. Subjects to be analyzed include state finance, pre-audit, excess levies, welfare, etc.

A new organization, the Howard County (Iowa) Taxpayers' Association, has been formed, because of the continued increase in taxes. Members elected seven directors who in turn chose Howard Walker as president.

* * *

Bureau Reports

Several research bureaus have issued reports on their past activities and accomplishments. These include:

Syracuse Governmental Research Bureau, *For the Record 1949, 1950, 1951,* a statement to its membership on activities since it was organized in January 1949;

New Bedford Taxpayers Association, *A Quarter Century of Civic Activity,* indicating accomplishments for the years 1926 to 1951;

Citizens Budget Commission of New York, *Chart for Good Government,* twentieth anniversary report;

San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, *Annual Report for 1951,* a review of major bureau activities;

Waterbury (Connecticut) Taxpayers' Association, *Report of Activities for 1951;*

Newark Bureau of Municipal Re-

search, *1951 Annual Report,* including a list of all publications issued during the year.

* * *

New Publication

The Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council is issuing a series of two-color, one-page mailing pieces titled "As a Citizen of Oklahoma You Should Know." Among the subjects recently covered are state income and sales taxes, state expenditures and the growth of public debt.

Research Reports and Articles

Bibliographies

Bibliography on State and Local Government in New England. Boston 15, Boston University, Bureau of Public Administration, 1952. 233 pp.

Budgets

1952 County Budget. 1952-53 Capital Budget. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* December 6, 1951, and January 10, 1952. 4 pp. each.

Statements at Public Budget Hearings on Chicago Park District, Sanitary District of Chicago, City of Chicago, Chicago Board of Education and County of Cook. Chicago 2, Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* December 1951. 3, 5, 9, 8 and 11 pp. respectively.

Charters

Many Amendments, Few Major Charter Changes in Twenty Years. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* January 25, 1952. 2 pp.

Model Charter for Oregon Cities: Mayor-Council Form of Government; Council-Manager Form of Government. (Revised.) Eugene, University of Oregon, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service in cooperation with the League of Oregon Cities, 1951. 37 and 40 pp. respectively. $1 each.

Debt

They Pay Their Own Way—Loans Which Are Self-Supporting Are Exempt from City's Constitutional Debt Limit. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* December 17, 1951. 4 pp.

Directories

Directory of Agencies and Officers of the Territory of Hawaii. (Includes organization chart and brief description of agencies.) Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1951. 64 pp.

A Directory of Mississippi Municipalities. Edited by Carl D. Mullican, Jr. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 85 pp.

Education

Public School Expenses and State Aid in Connecticut's 169 Towns Including Data for the School Year 1950-1951. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, 1952. 33 pp.

Report of the Temporary State Commission on Coordination of State Activities. (Devoted entirely to a study of the State Education Department.) Legislative Document No. 77. Albany, Williams Press, 1951. 473 pp.

Whither Educational Costs? Hartford 3, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business,* January 1952. 3 pp.

Elections and Voting

The Changing Louisiana Electorate, 1940-1952. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, *A PAR Report,* January 14, 1952. 4 pp. Tables.

Election Returns and Voting Machines. (With study of cost of voting machines.) Springfield (Massachusetts), Taxpayers' Association, 1951. 16 pp.

Local Legislation

The Supreme Court and Special Legislation. By Nick Kronenberg-Kittrie. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* December 15, 1951. 3 pp.

Motor Vehicles

Survey of Road User and Property Taxes Imposed on Five Different Trucks by Each of the 48 States. Rochester 4, New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Highways, Canals and Revenues, 1951. 10 pp.

Municipal Government

Cudahy—A Report on the Organization and Administration of the City Government. Prepared at the Request of the Mayor and Common Council of Cudahy. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1951. 70 pp.

Municipal Philosophy. (According to Mayor Grover Cleveland, 1882.) Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* January 31, 1952. 4 pp.

Natural Gas Systems

Natural Gas Systems: A Tale of Three Cities. By Anders O. Hustvedt. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, Municipal Technical Advisory Service, *Tennessee Town and City,* November 1951. 5 pp.

Parking

Parking Meters—Philadelphia Operates 4,865 Meters; Another 12,495 Will Be Installed in Near Future. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 12, 1951. 4 pp.

Pensions

Proposal to Modify Municipal Railway Dual Pension Systems. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* December 12, 1951. 1 p.

Planning

Capitol Environs—A Neglected Opportunity. Lincoln 8 (Nebraska), Governmental Research Institute, *Bulletin,* 1951. 4 pp.

Master Plan Highlights Presented. Toledo, Municipal League, *Toledo Municipal News,* November 1951. 2 pp.

Planning Assistance for Small Municipalities. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* December 1951. 3 pp.

Population

Final 1950 Population Detroit Region with Recent Growth. Detroit 26, Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission, 1951. 14 pp.

Public Health

Oregon Mental Health Laws—Supplement to Oregon Mental Health Laws Report. Portland, City Club, *City Club Bulletin,* November 16, 1951. 2 pp.

Public Utilities

Tax Subsidy of $92,772 for Seven Months' Operation of California Cable Railroad. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* November 16, 1951. 1 p.

Public Welfare

Erie County Relief. County Relief in 1952. Secret Relief Rolls. State Welfare Study. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* November 15 and December 13, 1951, January 17 and 24, 1952. 3, 4, 4 and 4 pp. respectively.

Relief Spending Doubles in Five Years. Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Montana Taxpayer,* December 1951. 1 p.

State Relief Rolls and the Jenner Amendment. ("Disclosure of Information Legislation Must be Carefully Planned.") By Leonard Calhoun. New York 20, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* November 1951. 4 pp.

Public Works

New Haven's Program for Public Improvements 1952-1957. New Haven, Capital Budget Programming Committee, 1951. 16 pp.

State Building Program—Money Comes From Various Sources; Building Finance Program Outlined. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* November 1951. 2 pp.

Reapportionment

Legislative Appointment in New Jersey. A Survey of Modern Methods Available. New Brunswick, Rutgers University, Bureau of Government Research, 1952. 25 pp.

The Reapportionment Struggle in California in 1948. By Thomas S. Barclay. Salt Lake City, University of Utah, Institute of Government, *Western Political Quarterly,* June 1951. 12 pp. $1.50.

Recreation

Leisure Hours. State Administered Recreation Facilities and Services in Tennessee. By Luther Johnson and John C. Gill. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, in cooperation with the Tennessee Interdepartmental Committee on Recreation, 1951. 49 pp.

Reporting

Tips on Town Reports. By John E. Dever and Joan Davis. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, 1950. 16 pp. Illus.

Salaries

Iowa Municipal Salaries in Cities over 5,000 Population 1951. Compiled by Edith T. Baikie. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs in cooperation with the League of Iowa Municipalities, 1951. 32 pp.

Massachusetts Mayors' Salary and Expense Data. Brockton 8 (Massachusetts), Taxpayers Association, December 27, 1951. 4 pp.

Municipal Officials' Salaries. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* December 20, 1951. 3 pp.

Ninth Salary Survey Under Way. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* January 9, 1952. 2 pp.

Upward Swing in Employees' Pay Apparent in Towns, Cities in 1951. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, *Connecticut Government,* November 1951. 2 pp.

Service Charges

Revised Sewer Service Charge Ordinance. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* November 27, 1951. 2 pp.

State Government

County Health Program. Kentucky Highway Systems and the State Department of Highways. Taxation — License and Privilege. Taxation — Selected Sales-Gross Receipts. Welfare — Mental Hospitals. Welfare — The Training Home. Staff Reports to Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1951. 17, 98, 15, 21, 27 and 15 pp. respectively.[1]

A Layman's Guide to the Texas State Administrative Agencies. (1951 Supplement.) Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1951. 90 pp. 75 cents.

Streets and Highways

State and Local Highway Finance— No Painless Cure-All for Troubles. By Richard M. Zettel. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* December 1951. 9 pp. 25 cents.

The Utah Highway Program 1951. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* December 1951. 4 pp.

Taxation and Finance

The City of Milwaukee Should Re-

[1]See also page 146, this issue.

tain its Present Automatic Formula for Administering the Tax Stabilization Fund. Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* October 25, 1951. 2 pp.

County Revenues and Expenditures in Mississippi 1949—A Graphic Portrayal With Descriptive Analyses. By Gordon K. Bryan. State College, Mississippi State College, Social Science Research Center, 1951. 174 pp.

Here Comes the Bad News. Miami 32, Dade County Research Foundation, *Newsletter,* October 22, 1951. 2 pp.

Here's a Tax Cut For You—But You Need to Act Now to Bring It About! Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey (bulletin), October 1951. 5 pp.

Major State Taxes 1939 and 1950. New York 20, Tax Foundation, 1951. 28 pp. Tables.

Municipal Finance Administration—An Outline Summary of New Jersey Practice. By George C. Skillman. New Brunswick, Rutgers University, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 33 pp. $1.

The 1950-1951 Fiscal Record. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), December 1951. 2 pp.

Taxes. (1952 Edition.) An up-to-date dictionary of all state and federal taxes levied in Wisconsin — **State and Federal Income Tax Guide.** Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1952. 64 pp. 25 cents.

These County Cost Tables. Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer,* December 3, 1951. 5 pp.

Use and Distribution of County Sales Tax. Syracuse 2, Governmental Research Bureau, *Research Memorandum,* December 20, 1951. 12 pp.

What Is Happening to Boston's Tax Base? (It is "becoming more and more constricted" because of "swelling of the tax-free lists, . . . public building of large scale projects, and the relatively small volume of taxpaying new construction.") Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* December 27, 1951. 4 pp.

Traffic

Providence Plans Ahead in Traffic. By Dwight T. Myers. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau (bulletin), November 1951. 3 pp.

Unemployment

Unemployment Compensation System Revised. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, *Taxtalk,* October-November, 1951. 2 pp. 5 cents.

Veterans

Cash Bonuses for World War II Veterans—a State-by-State Analysis as of October 1, 1951. New York 20, The Tax Foundation, 1951. 8 pp.

Vital Statistics

Life Opportunities. An Analysis of Differential Mortality in Mississippi. By John N. Burrus. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 58 pp.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 158)

companied by appeals to the public for support have reportedly had little effect, and a variety of devices has been invented to provide the lender with a yield above 4 per cent or special features of equal attraction. Evasion has been accomplished by lottery loans, by offering no interest during the first half year and high interest during the second half, by issuing loans at 4 per cent accompanied with the right to large subscribers to move into houses constructed under the loan, by marketing 4 per cent loans below par with the municipality paying the discount and by issuing 4 per cent paper callable at the option of the lender rather than the borrower.

Books in Review

American Forest Policy, A Study of Government Administration and Economic Control. By Luther Halsey Gulick. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1951. 252 pp. $3.50.

As the subtitle indicates, forestry was selected merely as a pioneer instance of a governmental excursion into an economic situation. The idea was to learn how this well matured program has fared and find lessons therein for the conduct of the government's more recent and bewildering programs in economics.

This lucid little volume is the essence of an immense review and a great array of unpublished mimeographed studies by the staff of the Institute of Public Administration, with emphasis on method. In the 40 years since Gifford Pinchot and Theodore Roosevelt, our forest cover has been saved and will not again be in danger. The progress toward that end is recorded and vindicates the seemingly hectic and disorderly American process of wide public education and legislation, fortified and kept on the rails, as are many other programs—public health, welfare, education and city management—by the development of a profession with its own high standards of integrity and public purpose.

In a previous book, *Administrative Reflections from World War II*,[1] Dr. Gulick similarly justified the American way of running an army, wherein abundant back talk from the front lines greeted every new weapon or regulation issued by the top command, resulting in swift and continuing corrections, whereas German soldiers died and lost without daring to send criticisms back up the line. R.S.C.

[1]See the REVIEW, September 1948, page 465.

Fifteen Years of County Manager Government in Virginia. An Experiment in Local Government. By George W. Spicer. Charlottesville, University of Virginia Extension Division, 1952. 145 pp. Paperbound 50 cents, cloth $2.50.

This is a painstaking field study of the operation of the county manager plan in Henrico, Albemarle, Arlington and Warwick Counties by the best informed local authority. It brings down to date the author's prior study under similar title covering ten years experience up to 1945. In all cases these are counties of vigorous growth and with increasing burdens of municipal-type functions, and the benefits of introducing full-time appointive, technically equipped executives into these counties is abundantly demonstrated. Economies, efficiencies and good business management are exhibited in marked and detailed contrast to prior conditions. A bright picture which should influence other counties in that state and elsewhere. R. S. C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Adult Education

Group Processes for Adult Education. By Paul Bergevin and Dwight Morris. Bloomington, Indiana, Community Services in Adult Education, 1951. 86 pp. 75 cents.

Air Pollution

Smoke Control. A Report of the Joint State Government Commission to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, the Commission, 1951. vii, 41 pp.

Tacoma Air Pollution Code Estab-

lishing a Division of Air Pollution Control. Tacoma, Washington, City Council, 1951. 12 pp.

Ambulance Service

Emergency Ambulance Service in New York City. New York 17, Hospital Council of Greater New York, 1950. 95 pp.

Annexation

Comparison Between Cost of Owning Property in the Tuxedo Country Club District in San Joaquin County and Cost of Owning Property Within the City Limits of the City of Stockton, California. (Including comparison of service and capital outlays and annexation resolution of the Stockton City Council.) Stockton, City Council, 1951. Variously paged.

Auditing

Report on Costs and Characteristics of the Audit Program in Enforcement of the California Sales Tax. Sacramento, California, Office of Legislative Auditor, 1951. 126 pp.

Conferences

How to Have a Successful Conference. Edited by Edgar Dale and Seth Spaulding. New York 10, National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services, 1951. 34 pp. 60 cents.

Council-Manager Government

The Commission-Manager Form of Government—Its Makeup and How It Has Worked in and for Emporia. A report prepared and presented to the Emporia Current Club. By Walter F. Johnson. Emporia, Kansas, Office of the City Manager, 1951. 23 pp.

Education

Education in Connecticut. A Highlight Summary Report to Governor Chester Bowles. By the Governor's Fact-finding Commission on Education. Hartford, the Commission, 1951. 47 pp.

The Financing of State Departments of Education, with 48 Statements on Financial Practices Prepared by the Departments. By Fred F. Beach and Clayton D. Hutchins. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1951. vii, 83 pp. 45 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

Employment

Underemployment in American Agriculture. A Problem in Economic Development. By Arthur Moore. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1952. viii, 91 pp. 75 cents.

Federal Government

Saving $$$. An Analysis of What the Hoover Commission Discovered About Our Sprawling Government. (Reprinted from the Charlotte, North Carolina, *News.*) By Vic Reinemer. New York City, Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report, 1951. 31 pp. $5 per hundred.

Metropolitan Areas

Growing Pains in the Suburbs. The Story of Metropolitan Pittsburgh's Building Boom. (Reprinted from Pittsburgh *Press.*) By Edwin H. Beachler. Pittsburgh, The *Press,* 1951. 40 pp. Illus.

New York's Commuters. Trends of Commuter Transportation in the New York Metropolitan Region 1930-1950. New York City, Regional Plan Association, *Regional Plan Bulletin,* July 1951. 12 pp. $2.

Old Age

Social Contribution by the Aging. Edited by Clark Tibbitts. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* January 1952. vi, 258 pp. $2.

Planning

Fairless Hills. (A short study of planning and development of new town in Pennsylvania, built because of location of Fairless mill of United States Steel Corporation in Philadelphia-

Trenton area.) Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* January 1952. 3 pp.

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Population

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Off-Post Recreation for the Armed Forces. New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1952. 31 pp.

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Special Districts

Special Districts in California. Organization and Procedure Governing Those Districts Formed and Operated under the Jurisdiction of County Boards of Supervisors. By Harold "Tony" Zenz. Sacramento 14, County Supervisors Association of California, 1950. 9 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Compendium of City Government Finances in 1950. The 474 Cities Having More Than 25,000 Inhabitants in 1950. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 134 pp. 40 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

Total Government Expenditures in 1950. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* November 1951. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic

Program of Action for 1952. Policies Adopted by 49th Annual Meeting of Delegates, American Automobile Association, Kansas City, Missouri, October 25, 1951. Washington 6, D. C., The Association, 1951. 14 pp.

Training for Public Service

Directory of Public Service Training Films. Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1950. 23 pp. $2.

Urban Redevelopment

Redevelopment of Blighted Areas. Cincinnati, City Planning Commission, 1951. 63 pp. Illus. $1.

A Selected Bibliography Relating to the Legal and Financial Aspects of Urban Redevelopment. By Charles F. O'Brien. Columbus 10, Ohio State University, College of Law Library, 1951. 9 pp. 25 cents.

INITIATIVE IN RESERVE

(Continued from page 145)

the diminution in the number of proposals submitted as the years have passed. However, we must never minimize its potentiality for securing needed reform when an aroused electorate goes into action. Ohio's experience has proven this.

Whatever the future holds for direct legislation, we need not expect any radical departure from its use as demonstrated up to this time. We can view it as keeping to a middle-of-the-road course, ready to serve the electorate at any time when the need arises to make manifest the popular will.

Gallup Sees Revolt Against Labels

Philadelphia civic leaders filled the Burgundy room at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel February 13 for a luncheon at which Dr. George H. Gallup presented the "All-American Cities of 1951" award. Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., who was swept into office with his ticket last November, accepted the certificate "on behalf of all the good citizens of Philadelphia" and expressed the hope that the city would still merit national applause after he had been in office for a year.

Dr. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and a member of the National Municipal League's Council, served as foreman of the jury of distinguished authorities which chose eleven cities "in recognition of progress achieved through intelligent citizen action."

In his presentation, Dr. Gallup interpreted the almost unprecedented election of Democrats to top positions and to fourteen of the seventeen places in the city council as a "declaration of independence of old party labels" and a demand by the voters for local elections "on a frankly no-party-label basis as citizens already have in more than half of all cities of the country."

Mayor Clark, in his reply, said he preferred to believe that disillusioned voters were deserting the other party for his own and had in effect asked him and his party to assume responsibility for bringing good government to Philadelphia.

Donald C. Rubel, chairman of the Committee of Seventy, one of the civic organizations which led the fight for a new city charter and a change in the administration, presided.

Dr. George H. Gallup presenting "All-American Cities" certificate to Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., of Philadelphia as Donald C. Rubel, chairman, Committee of Seventy, looks on.
—Photo by The Evening Bulletin, Philadelphia

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Vernon citizens voted five to one for the plan, the first Illinois city to take advantage of the new law. (See also page 130 this issue.)

Mr. Childs, one of the jurors who selected the cities to be honored for "progress achieved through intelligent citizen action" in 1951, predicted that Mount Vernon's example would "set off a chain reaction" among cities of the state.

Mr. Childs also spoke recently in other Illinois communities — Chicago, Bloomington, Galesburg, Lincoln, Geneva, Calumet City and Springfield— and presented the "All-American Cities" certificate at a ceremony in Kansas City, Missouri.

—Photo by The Providence Journal

Mayor Lawrence A. McCarthy (left) receiving certificate from James M. Osborn, member of the Council of the National Municipal League, on behalf of Pawtucket citizens.

"Political bossism which has contributed to the downfall of Pawtucket remains a municipal plague," *The Pawtucket* (R. I.) *Times* said editorially recently, but Pawtucket was chosen an "All-American City of 1951."

James M. Osborn, Yale research professor and member of the League's Council, explained at a Business Chamber dinner February 4 that the award "is not for the present state of your municipal affairs but for energetic, purposeful, intelligent citizen action."

He cited the Citizens League's part in gaining home rule for Rhode Island cities and electing a charter commission over the opposition of both political parties. (See editorial, page 128.)

In accepting the award, Mayor McCarthy, who favors a strong mayor form, learning that Dublin has the council-manager plan, remarked, "That sort of puts me on the spot."

Mayor John B. Hynes (center) of Boston did the honors recently when, on a visit to New Orleans, he presented the "All-American City" award of 1950 to Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison of New Orleans. Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services for the National Municipal League, is at right.

—Photo by Photography Unlimited